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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this investigation were: (1) to explain why some high school boys are strongly committed to a college education and others are not; (2) to consider and clarify important issues involved in the shaping of boys' educational goals; and (3) to assess the accuracy of data on goal determinants that is provided by boys' reports. Some 1,600 tenth grade boys attending eight high schools served as subjects. Data were collected from them by means of two questionnaires, 277 sets of parents were interviewed, and additional information about the boys was secured from their counselors and school records. The findings on the influence of school and family attest to the power of the family in the shaping of the boys' educational goals; however, there was little consistent association between the social class composition of their schools and the boys' goals. (Author/ED)

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Stanford University
Stanford, California

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PREFACE

The research described in this report was a direct outgrowth of an earlier study of eighth-grade boys and girls directed by the senior author of the current investigation. The central problem of the previous research was the relative influence of the social-class composition of their schools and the family background of students on their educational aspirations. The conclusion indicated by the study--which ran counter to those of other studies which preceded it--was that, when indexed by parents' educational aspirations for their children, family influence was dominant. The present study, which we undertook with tenth-grade boys, also addressed itself to this problem, introducing a number of refinements discussed in the Report. A major extension was the collection of interview data from a sample of parents. These data were intended primarily to determine the extent of correspondence between boys' reports and parents' reports on a number of variables for which data are usually collected from the children themselves.

The prime source of the data presented in this Report was the boys of eight high schools in two school districts, and the parents whom we interviewed. We owe thanks to all of them for their participation in the project. We are also grateful for the cooperation of many other persons: the superintendents of the two school districts, the school principals, the teachers who distributed the questionnaires in their classes, and the counselors who provided ratings of the boys' ability, goal and their probable level of educational attainment. We particularly are indebted to two persons who were invaluable resources in many stages of our work--the former Director of Research in one of the school districts, and the former Vice-Principal of one of the participating schools. Regrettably, we cannot identify them--or other school personnel--by name since all participants in the study were assured of anonymity.

The coding of the data for computer processing benefited from the careful and conscientious supervision of the coders by Mary Benepe and Nancy Norberg. The task of arranging appointments for interviews with the parents, organizing the schedule of interviews, and supervising the activities of a staff of some 30 interviewers was skillfully carried out by Judith Hogness. We greatly appreciate her help in this phase of the project.

Professor Ronald Anderson contributed his skill as a computer programmer to the analysis of our large body of data. He was assisted by Forest McKnown. Able service in the computer processing of the data was rendered by Bruce E. Everett. Thanks are also due in this connection to Patrick McDonnell.

We are grateful for support given our study in its terminal phase by the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching.

Paul Wallin served as Principal Investigator of the project and Freda B. Wallin as its Associate Director. They jointly planned the research and carried it through to the final stage of data analysis. Mrs. Wallin did not participate in the preparation of the Report. Stuart K. Geisinger collaborated with the Principal Investigator in the writing of the Report.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM: VARIATION IN GOALS OF HIGH SCHOOL BOYS

This volume reports a study of the educational goals of some 1,600 tenth-grade boys attending eight high schools. Data were collected from them by means of two questionnaires, 277 sets of their parents were interviewed, and additional information about the boys was secured from their counselors and from school records. The major purpose of the investigation was to account for variation in boys' educational goals. A number of related sub-studies were also made.

This chapter first considers the significance of research on educational goals. Then it presents the framework on which much of the theoretical discussion and data analysis of the present study is based. Chapter 2 describes how the various phases of the study were carried out. Chapter 3, by examining evidence on the relative influence of family background and school type[1] on boys' educational goals, treats the important question of whether the school counteracts the impact of the family on these goals. Chapter 4 investigates the association between a number of specific factors or characteristics (of family, school, and the boys themselves) and boys' educational goals. Chapter 5 examines some of the conditions associated with divergence between boys' educational aspirations and goals. Since aspirations are virtually a necessary condition of goals, knowing why the latter fall short of the former, can suggest how to raise educational goals. Chapter 6 presents some findings on why divergence occurs between the educational goals of parents and the aspirations of their children. Since parents' goals are a major influence on sons' educational aspirations and goals, some of the study data are analyzed in Chapter 7 for the light they could shed on the sources of variation in parents' educational goals. Chapters 8 and 9 deal with material secured in the parents' interviews. Chapter 8, which is primarily methodological, compares parents' and sons' reports. These comparisons are valuable because they provide some evidence for judging how much confidence can be placed in reports of high school boys about various matters which constitute the core of research such as ours. Chapter 9 utilizes some data from interviews with parents to consider some substantive questions about parents' involvement in their sons' education. Chapter 10 summarizes the outcome of the investigation, discusses the implications of the findings and advances recommendations for future research.

Tables are placed at the end of the chapters in which they are discussed. Table numbers are keyed to the chapter numbers. Thus Table 3.1 is Table 1 of Chapter 3.

Copies of the two questionnaires filled out by the students and the schedule of questions asked of parents are to be found in Appendix B. Appendix B, in addition, contains copies of the forms used by counselors in their ratings of the students. Instructions to the teachers for administering the questionnaires to their classes are also included in Appendix B. Appendix A presents a detailed description of the scales and index scores used in the research. They are described in a more general way in Chapter 2.

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[1] As defined by the social class composition of the student body.

The Significance of the Study of Educational Goals

The amount of education most men receive is perhaps the single most important determinant of their life chances in contemporary, industrial societies. Given the close association between education and occupation--and in turn income--education can be said to have an almost decisive influence on central aspects of most men's lives:[1] how they earn a living, the satisfactions derived from their work, their standard of living, the persons with whom they associate, and, to some degree, even the educational level and family background of the women they marry. It is this pervasive influence of education in modern societies that lends so much significance to the study of who gets more education and who gets less.

In recent years the question of "who gets educated and why" has become an increasingly urgent and pressing social issue. For a number of reasons, more and more attention has been focused on the discrepancy between the American credo of equality of opportunity for all and the fact (documented by social science research) that segments of American society fail to achieve a level of education commensurate with their ability--whether they are high school drop-outs, high school graduates or token attenders at junior college for a year or two. These socially determined "underachievers," as distinguished from those who are underachievers because of emotional or familial difficulties, are drawn disproportionately from the poor among the whites, as well as from the Negro, Mexican-American, and Puerto-Rican groups.

Increasing articulation by the poor of their dissatisfaction with their chronically disadvantaged position[2] (and their active protests against it) has compelled consideration of the causes of their situation and how to change it. A guaranteed minimum annual income or assured employment have been proposed as measures free of the indignities and other negative aspects of current welfare allowances for the dependent and unemployed. But it must be appreciated that any programs advanced cannot radically improve the situation of the economically underprivileged if these programs do not effect a substantial increase in their utilization of education to improve the life chances of their progeny, if not their own.

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[1] "Numerous studies in America, Britain, and Western Europe document the fact that youngsters who start in a given social class vary in the class status they achieve as adults in proportion to the amount of formal schooling they obtain. The more education, the more advantaged the class status. Depending on the starting point, education facilitates either upward social mobility or the maintenance of a favored class position; lack of education brings on downward social mobility, or stability in a disadvantaged class position. Natalie Rogoff, "Local Structure and Educational Selection," p. 145, The Sociology of Education, R. R. Bell and H. R. Stub (Eds.) The Dorsey Press, 1968, Homewood.

[2] The "chronic" aspect of the position of the poor is central to the concept of what has been called the "culture of poverty." This concept was first formulated by Oscar Lewis. For a discussion of the concept, see the introduction to his La Vida, Random House, New York, 1965.

Effecting this increase is a formidable task. Certainly, equality of educational facilities for all is important--both for its possible effect on occupational achievement and as a tangible affirmation by our society of the proposition that all its members are entitled to the same quality education. But it is not enough: individuals must want to capitalize on available educational resources. This requires that they value education for what it can bring them and that they believe that the rewards of education will be equitably distributed. But this too is not enough. For their values to become their goals, individuals must be persuaded of the feasibility of achieving them. Given that they would like a college education, individuals will not be motivated to work for it if they believe they lack the ability or funds to attain it.

The primary concern of this research is accounting for differences in level of educational attainment. More particularly, the objective is to add to knowledge of the conditions which determine whether individuals will obtain four or more years of college. We focus on this level of education on the assumption that it is having or not having a college degree which now substantially influences occupational status and its associated life chances in our society.[1]

Although we are concerned with the level of education which boys ultimately achieve, our present data were obtained from boys completing the tenth grade of high school. How far they will go in their schooling remains to be seen. For most, this will depend to a large extent on the goals they set themselves in the earlier years of high school: there is little likelihood that students who are unmotivated to obtain a college education during this period will ever do so. Some will not finish high school, others will terminate their education after 1 or 2 years at a junior college or its equivalent. And circumstances arising only after entrance to college may explain why some fail to complete 4 or more years. However, there can be little doubt that the level of education most students finally attain is already determined by factors and conditions observable prior to the last 2 years of high school and probably earlier. Using data secured from students at the end of the tenth grade to identify these factors and conditions has an important advantage. These students are more representative of the various strata than those in the final 2 years of high school--years when a disproportionate number of working-class students drop out.

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[1] We appreciate that the consequences of a college education can vary importantly depending on the prestige of the institution (e.g., a 4-year state college compared with an Ivy League university or college) from which an individual graduates. Our data, however, do not permit this degree of refinement in the study of educational attainment.

A Framework for the Study of Educational Goals

The theoretical framework providing the major orientation for the present study of educational goals postulates that goals are the resultant of two factors: individuals' aspirations and their perception of the feasibility of realizing them. In our judgment, these two factors encompass all the influences which determine the goals individuals adopt, whether in education or in any other domain of achievement. Consideration of the two factors should be helpful for parents, teachers, counselors, and educational policymakers who are concerned with what can be done to stimulate and sustain the development of high educational goals.

Goal

A goal is an end requiring some effort which an individual commits himself to attain. By effort we mean an investment of resources such as money, time, energy, sacrifice of other ends or delay in achieving them, etc. Commitment to an end requiring effort, therefore, is not likely to occur unless the end is relatively highly valued and its achievement is regarded as feasible. Thus, if a high school student is to adopt the goal of 4 or more years of college, he must place a comparatively high value on this level of education and believe that he can attain it.

Aspiration

We define aspiration as an important end which an individual would like to achieve. Individuals may aspire to a college education[1] in order to attain valued objectives which they believe require this much education. If these valued objectives are to be goal determinants they must rank high with those who hold them because goals, by definition, entail investment of resources. This in turn implies an additional condition which must be satisfied if the values held by individuals are to influence their educational goals, namely that they not perceive less costly means[2] by which their values can be realized.

However, given even that college is viewed as the only possible means for realizing the objectives they value, some individuals may be less likely than others to develop an aspiration for a college education. One noteworthy circumstance here is individual variation in the conviction that a higher education will actually bring about what they would like to achieve. Because of discrimination, blacks or Mexican-Americans, for example, may have less reason than whites to believe higher education will help them.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated "college education" here signifies 4 or more years of college. "College education" and "higher education" are used interchangeably.

[2] "Less costly" in one or more respects such as financially, effort required, congeniality of the means, sacrifice of other ends, etc.

Higher education is generally valued because it is seen as instrumental to the attainment of occupational prestige, a relatively secure high income, and a job that is phychologically satisfying. Entrance into occupations offering such rewards is increasingly connected to having 4 years of college--and often considerably more. Undoubtedly of lesser incidence is the valuing of a college education primarily for purposes of being an "educated" person or for the self-knowledge and maturation which some persons impute to the experience of spending 4 or more years in an institution of higher learning. Another end which may lead individuals to aspire to a college education warrants mention. This differs from the preceding cases because it is not the ultimate instrumental value of the goal which motivates the individual but rather the activities incidental to the achievement of the goal. We refer here to the individual who very much wants to go to college because of the anticipation that college life will be "fun."[1]

This brief discussion of why high school students may value a higher education--i.e., have this aspiration--suggests that they have a clear awareness of the long-range ends they wish to achieve. We think it more accurate to assume that most of them are not acutely conscious of the ultimate pervasive consequences of the amount of education they receive. Such a long-range perspective is probably not typical of students in their middle "teens," not even of the supposedly future-oriented middle-class youth.[2] It is far more likely to characterize their parents, who know from experience how their lives have been shaped by education or the lack of it. This explains why so many parents--especially those above the working class[3]--are likely to be continuously sensitive to their sons' level of educational commitment in the high school years (when academic performance is seen as critical for admission to college and university). It might also be said that it is the intensity of the parents' desires for their sons to acquire one or another of the benefits deriving from higher education--more than the sons' aspirations for these rewards--which constitutes the major determinant of the latter's educational goal.[1] This is not to say that sons' aspirations do not influence their goals but rather that they perceive valued ends less clearly than do their parents. Most or many high school students aspiring to a college education may do so because of a strong sense that in one way or another it is necessary for the kind of life they would like to live. But on the other hand, many or most of those who do not aspire to a college education may lack even this general sense of the kind of future they would like to have. Their thinking about their lives is presumably directed to the present rather than to the later years of their lives.

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[1] College is probably valued for this reason more often by girls than by boys since the occupational rewards of a college education tend to be less salient for girls. But the "fun" component of college life also may be a major motivation for at least a small proportion of boys from wealthy families. Girls also may value being in college for an extended period because they (or their parents) perceive it as a situation with a high potential for meeting men who would be "desirable" marriage partners. For many young men a more serious valued objective which can be realized by being in college is avoidance of military service.

[2] Students who definitely have made a high-status occupational choice would be an exception. These students presumably do clearly perceive entry into the occupation as dependent on completion of 4 or more years of college.

[3] And those within the working class who have college as a goal for their children.

Due to their experience, parents probably differ from their sons in another important respect: they recognize that many of the values which can be realized through education cannot be achieved--or are much less likely to be achieved--by other means. The optimism, self-confidence and short-range view of some students may lead them to think otherwise and, unless convinced by their parents, they may not aspire to a college education. For this reason as well as the one cited above, we would expect more variation in boys' educational aspirations than in those of parents.

Perceived Feasbility of Achieving Goal

The stronger an individual's aspiration for a college education, the more disposed he will be to set it as his goal. But whether this disposition will be activated is contingent on the individual's conviction of the feasibility of achieving the goal. This conviction is determined by his evaluation of his academic ability and his sense of whether through family aid, loans, scholarships, part-time work, etc., he will be able to defray the cost of a higher education.

It should be noted that in evaluating his academic potential for a college education, a high school student does not consider whether in some abstract sense he has the necessary intelligence. Rather he probably makes some intuitive judgment about his grades, how hard he has to work for them and how difficult it would be for him to meet his conception of college scholastic requirements. A student thus may decide that he could satisfy these requirements but only with a great deal of effort. Such a student must have a strong aspiration for a college education to set it as his goal. This is doubtless also true of the student who preceives a college education to be economically feasible but only at a very high cost to his family or to himself.

Also, for some students, the degree of interest in schoolwork as such, and their tolerance for being in school, probably influences the perception of the feasibility of their completing a college education. We refer to those who do not question their ability to enter or complete college, but who find school uncongenial. Some may be bored with their classes or consider the subject matter irrelevant to their needs. Some, too, may be impatient with the constraints associated with being in school. Even if they aspire to a college education for a particular end, such students may not make it their goal or maintain it as their goal. They simply may conclude that achieving it is not feasible because the additional years of school which would face them are more than they can endure. This feeling is experienced by some students before or after the completion of high school and by others following one or more years of college.

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[1] See Chapter 6.

The Coleman Report[1] suggests another condition which may affect individuals' evaluation of the feasibility of attaining a high educational goal: "a sense of control of the environment." Students lacking this sense of control are clearly not likely to be sanguine about their future prospects. Hence, even if they have high educational aspirations, the low perceived feasibility of realizing them could be expected to discourage their adoption of higher goals.[3]

Goal Without Aspiration

Both the aspiration for a college education and the perceived feasibility of achieving it are necessary if individuals are to set themselves the goal of a higher education. There are circumstances, however, in which the perceived feasibility of attaining the goal may lead to its adoption in the absence of an aspiration for it, in the strict sense of our definition of the term.[4] One such circumstance is the lack of an aspiration for any other feasible goal. This is the situation of students of higher social strata[5] who have no particular reason for wanting a college education, but who commit themselves to it because no valued alternative course seems open to them after completion of high school.[6] College, consequently, becomes their goal by default.[7]

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[1] James S. Coleman, et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1966.

[2] See our discussion of this concept in Chapter 4.

[3] The Coleman Report found "control of environment . . . strongly related to achievement for all groups at grade 6, but this relation declines for Oriental Americans and whites in grades 9 and 12, while it increases for the other minority groups." Ibid, pp. 321-323.

[4] I.e., an important end which the individual would like to achieve.

[5] These students are more likely than the working-class students to have the ability and economic resources for higher education.

[6] See Ralph F. Berdie, After High School--What?, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954.

[7] Their adoption of the goal in the absence of an aspiration for it may be encouraged by parental pressure and the fact that friends are going to college. In effect, then, these students are taking the line of least resistance.

A second circumstance which may generate the adoption of higher education as a goal even when the individual does not aspire to it, is when he wishes to fulfill the aspiration or expectation of others who are important to him. Typically, of course, this is the situation of the high school boy who has no desire for a college education--who even would prefer not to go--but who adopts this goal in order to please his parents.

It should be noted that in some instances when individuals adopt goals in the absence of aspirations for them, they may in the course of pursuing these goals develop an aspiration for them. Activities associated with attempting to achieve the goals may lead them to become aware of, or to convince themselves of, values associated with the achievement of goals.

Interaction of Aspiration and Perceived Feasibility

It is important to appreciate that aspirations and perceived feasibility can influence one another. For example, a strongly held aspiration can lead to the discounting of an objectively low feasibility, allowing for the setting of a high goal. (The high goal may then lead the individual to effect a change in the initially limited feasibility.) Given, however, a low feasibility which cannot be denied, a strongly held aspiration may be surrendered so that the individual is spared the stress of valuing what he cannot attain. Under these circumstances, the individual is led to set himself a lower educational goal. Another consequence of low perceived feasibility may be the encouragement of the individual to assume that the end he wished to achieve by a college education can be won by other means.

Sources of Influence on Goal Determinants

The description of the framework guiding the present study identifies the conditions which explain why some individuals set 4 or more years of college as their goal whereas others do not. Our discussion of goal setting should not be thought to imply a rational process in which students (a) take account of the values they can realize by attaining a particular goal such as a college education, (b) calculate the feasibility of achieving it, and then (c) decide to adopt or reject it. This may describe what happens in the case of a small minority, but we think that most boys arrive at their choice in a less consciously deliberative manner. For many individuals the decision may even be so taken for granted that they may not be conscious of having made it. Regardless, however, of how the decision is reached for most students, it must be the outcome of the play of their aspirations and their perception of the feasibility of realizing them only by means of a college education. Our study treats two major sources of influence on these determinants of individuals' goals: their families and the schools they attend.

CHAPTER 2

PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

Our data were obtained mostly from the tenth-grade boys who are the focus of the study. Data were also collected from a group of their parents, as well as from counselors and school records. This chapter describes the boys and parents selected for study and how the data were obtained from them. It also indicates the nature of the information secured from the counselors and the schools. Finally, a description is given of the procedure used for assigning families to social-class positions.

The reader is referred to Appendix A for a detailed description of those measures which are in the form of scales or indices. For measures based on responses to single items, the reader is referred to Appendix B (which contains copies of the two questionnaires filled out by the boys, and the parent interview schedule.) Appendix B also contains copies of (a) the forms used in securing data from the counselors, and (b) the instructions to teachers who administered the questionnaires to their classes.

The Boys: Why Selected, How Selected, and How Studied

Our central concern was comparing the relative influence of family and school on the educational goals of high school students. This required deciding from what grade level the subjects were to be drawn. The reasons which led us to study tenth-grade boys are given below.

Why We Studied Tenth Graders

Most research which deals with family and school influence on students has studied high school seniors. This is defended on the ground that, at this level, students have relatively stable and crystallized educational plans. That is, most seniors are presumed to have decided whether they are going to college (if not the particular institution or for how many years they will attend). It is assumed, then, that they subsequently will act in accordance with their decision.[1]

However, two serious objects can be raised against this practive. First, it rules out the large numbers of students who have left school before their senior year. This group is composed predominantly of students from the working class who, because of their economic status, also are likely to be black, Mexican-American, and, in the eastern United States, Puerto Rican. Surveys of high school seniors, therefore, are based on

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[1] Some studies have demonstrated the validity of this assumption. See especially, William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Socio-Economic Status, Intelligence and Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education, Vol. 15, Winter, 1967, pp. 1-23.

unrepresentative samples of these segments of the population.[1] A second objection to the use of seniors follows from the very advantage claimed for using students at this level, namely that they have decided on what they propose to do and that most of them will follow through with their plans. The negative feature of this condition is this: Students' responses to questions about what their attitudes were before they made final decisions about educational goals could be distorted by the fact of the decision itself. Since these attitudes (e.g., educational aspirations) are likely to be goal determinants, data from high school seniors may not give an accurate picture of the attitudinal forces that shape boys' decisions about how much education to get.

Because of these objections, we chose to restrict our research to tenth graders. Their drop-out rate is appreciably lower than juniors' or seniors'. We, therefore, could assume that we would not be dealing at the outset with a group of students that was to some extent atypical in its lower class component. Moreover, it could be assumed that toward the end of the school year[2] most tenth graders would have made up their minds as to how far they planned to go in school, and that their stated educational goals were then roughly predictive of their ultimate level of educational attainment.[3] Furthermore, it might be supposed that, compared with seniors, sophomores' reports of attitudes or conditions which could be presumed to determine goal decisions would be less influenced by their goals.[4]

Some studies have used students from two or more high school levels. The wisdom of this procedure is questionable. Unless the data obtained from the students of each grade are analyzed separately, there is no basis for ruling out the possibility that results have been influenced by the mixture of levels. Selecting students from different grades, therefore, is justifiable only in research specifically intended to investigate hypotheses which posit grade level as a relevant variable.

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[1] This unrepresentativeness is increased by the likelihood that more students from these segments who are seniors in high schools are absentees or fail to complete their questionnaires satisfactorily when surveys are carried out. In this connection, see the subsequent discussion of the bias in the composition of the tenth-grade group of the present study.

[2] Our data were collected between the second and third week in May.

[3] The extent to which the goals of tenth graders actually are predictive is an empirical question which remains to be investigated. An interesting and important problem is the determination of the earliest grade level at which declared goals of students indicate how far they will go in school.

[4] This is an intuitive inference. Its premise is that the interval between the goal decision and the attitudes and conditions in question is shorter for sophomores and that they, therefore, have had less time than seniors to modify or reconstruct their views of events which contributed to their decision.

How We Selected Our Tenth Grade Boys

The single-most important objective of our research was to evaluate the relative influence of school type and family background on students' educational goals. This required obtaining students from high schools with a wide range of variation in the social class of students' families and of their student bodies. It also required that the schools begin with Grade 9. Students observed toward the end of their tenth grade thus would have been exposed for 2 years to the conditions in their particular schools which could have affected their educational goals.

The eight schools we studied satisfied all these requirements. Six constituted all the high schools in one school district. The student body of one of the schools was made up largely of blacks. Two additional schools were chosen from adjacent districts to increase the number of working-class students in our sample. These latter schools were the major source of the Mexican-Americans in our study group. The social-class variation in families and school composition can be seen in Table 3.1 (the first table of the next chapter). None of the eight high schools were located in the large city complex close to them. They were in communities ranging in population from roughly 90,000 to 4,000. The communities were close to a major state and private university, both of which were frequently featured in the area press. Residents of the communities also had ready access to a number of state or city supported junior colleges and 4-year colleges. Various opportunities for education beyond high school, consequently, were highly visible to the students and their parents.

How the Data Were Collected from the Boys

All data secured from the students were obtained by two questionnaires (copies of which are to be found in Appendix B).[1] The questionnaires were administered by the teachers on successive days during scheduled class periods.[2] In filling out the first questionnaire, students were not told they would be called on to answer another on the following day. To be able to match the two questionnaires (and, in turn for linking them with school records), it was necessary to ask students to sign their names to each of the forms. They were told on the forms that the part of the page containing their signatures would be cut off in the research office, and that the questionnaires then would be identified only by number. This was stressed in the instructions read by teachers to the classes. The instructions also emphasized that under no circumstances would any of the students' questionnaires be seen by their parents or any members of the school staff. Despite this strong assurance of the confidentiality of the information, a small number of students omitted their signatures from one or both questionnaires or used fictitious names. We were able, however, to identify the students.[1]

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[1] The questionnaires were carefully pre-tested. They were administered to groups of students from schools not included in our sample. Individual members of the groups were subsequently interviewed for their understanding of the items. This led to reformulation of a number of the questions. Our goal was to be as sure as possible that the questionnaires could be answered by students at the lowest reading and comprehension level of the tenth grade.

[2] In all but one of the schools, they were administered in English classes. The questionnaires were filled out by girls as well as boys. At the time the study first was discussed with school officials, it appeared that arrangements could be made to administer the questionnaires only to boys in special assemblies. When final plans were being made, it became clear that the intended assemblies would be possible only under physical conditions which for various reasons were undesirable. We, therefore, prepared questionnaire forms for the girls which paralleled those developed for the boys and thus were able to administer the questionnaires in the regular classroom situation. The data collected from the girls are not yet analyzed.

The senior investigator met with the teachers in each of the schools that were to administer the questionnaires. They were told that the research promised to be of value and hence, deserved their complete cooperation.[2] The great majority of the teachers reacted favorably to the objectives of the study.[3]

A few students preferred not to turn in the questionnaires. They were not pressed by teachers to do so. Editing of the questionnaires uncovered a small number which were unusable because they had been answered facetiously or lacked responses to whole segments of the questionnaire. There was no indication, however, that most students had not taken the questionnaire seriously.

In this connection, there is one aspect of the questionnaires that calls for comment. The final page of both forms was blank except for the boxed statement at the top which read: "Thank you for filling this out. If you would like to say anything about the questions, please use this page." The volume of comments this elicited was unexpected.[4] A minority of students indicated a favorable reaction (that they had found the questionnaires interesting, had learned things about themselves in answering the questions, etc.), and many students made critical comments relating to the constraints imposed by the fixed-reply format (that this made it impossible for them to give the answers which they thought were most applicable to themselves, etc.). Most surprising, however, was the substantial number of affect-laden comments.[1] Many expressed open hostility for the research in totally unrestrained language. At first sight, these statements were extremely disconterting; we assumed that we would find that the questionnaires containing them would have to be discarded. Fortunately this did not prove to be the case. On careful examination it appeared, in our judgment,[2] that all but a negligible number had been seriously filled out.

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[1] Questionnaires were matched by handwriting and students were identified with the assistance of lists prepared by teachers of students who were in class when the questionnaires were administered.

[2] This was of critical importance. The teachers' attitudes could influence--in a number of ways--the seriousness with which their students filled out the questionnaires. How persons' evaluations of an instrument they are administering affect the quality of the data elicited by the instrument is a significant question for survey research. The problem warrants more attention than has been given it.

[3] The teachers in one of the schools had not been given what they considered sufficient advance notice of the study, and were not told that two class periods were to be used. The investigator learned this when he met with them a few days before the questionnaires were distributed. He tried to counteract their resentment, but we cannot be sure whether their attitudes influenced their classes.

[4] Comments were made on one or both forms by approximately 45 percent of the students.

The comments generated by the invitation to the students to speak their mind about the questions point to a significant phenomenon in survey research such as ours. This research demands a great deal of self-evaluation from students. They must appraise their present and future situation, and, most important perhaps, consider their relationship to their parents. For many students these demands probably activate a sense of inadequacy, self-doubt, and feelings of guilt. The end result, we think, is the anger and hostility which found expression in their comments. We believe this interpretation is also valid to some extent for those who voiced a critical evaluation of the research in more neutral tones.

Laboratory experiments frequently induce strong negative feelings in subjects, but the debriefing sessions (which is an integral part of these experiments) presumably extinguishes them. We believe the "gripe page" ending our questionnaires servied a similar purpose, and recommend its use.

Bias in the Sample of Students Studied

The students we studied are those in class the two days the questionnaires were administered. The rosters of tenth graders in the eight schools with which we were involved indicated that a total of 1,799 boys might be available for our research. Our returns fell considerably short of this number. Both questionnaire forms were filled out by 81 percent of the total group, and neither form was filled out by 9 percent. An additional 10 percent filled out only one questionnaire (5 percent the A form; 5 percent the B form). We had expected to give the questionnaires at a later date to students who were absent when they were administered in their classes. The school principals, however, decided this would involve too much disruption of classroom procedures.

The analysis of the data, therefore, is based on a total of 1,646 boys, which includes those who filled out only one of the questionnaires. This, in part, explains why totals of tables vary (depending on whether they embrace data drawn from one or both questionnaires). The totals also vary considerably according to the number of "no responses."[1]

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[1] Such remarks were made by about one-fifth of all students.

[2] Based on tests of internal consistency of responses and other criteria.

School rosters made it possible to identify the trend of the bias which resulted from the exclusion of the 9 percent of students who filled out neither of the questionnaires. Briefly, our findings show that the absentees tended to be blacks,[2] students with low grades,[3] and those rated by their counselors as low on academic ability, and as unlikely to go on with their education beyond high school.[4]

The results of the analysis of the bias in our study group are not surprising. High school students performing at a relatively low academic likely to attach least significance to being in school. They view their presence in school as having little instrumental value, and consequently can be expected to be absent from school more frequently than students whose grades indicate a greater degree of commitment to goals which school attendance could further.

Documentation of the bias in the composition of our study group of boys provides evidence[5] (not secured in most survey research with students) that our study (and presumably others) fails to include large proportions of the students about whom there is the greatest concern: the working-class whites, blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans who are most educationally disadvantaged. Students from these groups who are more likely to be in school when surveys are made are probably those having greater motivation to succeed in school.[1] To the degree that their values differ from the absentees, a select sample is obtained when data are gathered under conditions of high absenteeism.

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[1] There are more "no responses" on items regarding students' fathers than those involving their mothers. This is due to the larger number of cases in which there was no male parent in the home.

[2] Twenty-two percent of the black students, compared with 8 percent of the white students, were absent both days. Mexican-American boys were between the two groups--with 12 percent of their group absent the 2 days.

[3] Grades in the most recent examinations in all solid subjects were obtained from school records. Taking their English grades only, we find that neither questionnaire was filled out by 25 percent of the boys with F's, 12 percent with D's, 5 percent with C's, and 4 percent with A's or B's. (The lower their grades, the more likely, too, students were to have answered only one of the questionnaires because of being absent the first or second day the questionnaires were administered.) The finding for average grade in solid subjects was more striking: 31 percent of those with the lowest average filled out neither form (in comparison with 0 percent of those at the highest grade level).

[4] Counselor ratings are described later in the chapter. As with grades, those students estimated by counselors as being lowest in academic ability were more likely to have been absent for the administration of the two questionnaires. They also were more likely to have filled out only one of the forms. Similarly, the constituted a larger proportion of the students whom counselors predicted would finish only high school or less.

[5] For evidence that absentees from a survey of students in junior and senior high schools were more likely to be poorer students, see Alan B. Wilson, Travis Hirschi, and Glen Elder, Technical Report No. 1: Secondary School Survey, Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, 1965. For similar evidence, see Edward L. McDill, Edmund D. Meyers, Jr., and Leo C. Rigsby, Sources of Educational Climates in High Schools, Final Report, Project 1999, Education, Bureau of Research, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 1966.

The Parent Interviews

Our objective in interviewing parents was two-fold. The primary purpose was to determine the extent of agreement between parents' and sons' reports on a number of variables which are usually secured from the boys themselves.[2] We also wanted to explore some substantive questions that required data obtained directly from parents.[3]

Selection of Interviewed Parents

Since the major purpose of the interviews was to compare parents' and sons' responses, parents to be interviewed were limited to those whose boys had filled out both questionnaires and answered all or most of the questions. (This was done to maximize the number of possible comparisons.)

Second, only parents from unbroken homes (i.e., those in which both parents were alive and living together) were selected for interviews. Step-parents and step-children cannot be presumed to be as well informed about one another as parents and children of in-tact families.[4]

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[1] This has important implications for studies such as Coleman, et al., (op. cit.), which did not determine the percentage or characteristics of absentees in the population studied. In this connection, an observation, regarding a large survey of white and black students in Grades 9 to 12, is pertinent. The authors point out that their sample ". . . does not include those in the age-group who had already left school before the time of our data collection. Thus, perhaps a quarter or more of the high school age population is not covered in our study. The percentage, of course, is higher for those of ninth- and tenth-grade age. Also, the percentage lost is somewhat higher for Negroes than for whites." (M. Richard Cramer, Charles E. Bowerman, and Ernest Q. Campbell, Social Factors in Educational Achievement and Aspirations Among Negro Adolescents, Vol. II, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1966, p. 8.

[2] The importance of this task, the difficulties involved in interpreting agreement or disagreement in reports of parents and children, and the empirical findings from the comparison are treated in Chapter 8.

[3] This is reported in Chapter 9.

[4] This assumption would not be valid for step-parents who assumed their role when the step-children were very young.

Most important, the population from which parents were selected was limited--for several reasons--to the upper working- and upper middle class. The decision to do this was made on several grounds. Other than a small number of black parents,[1] lower working-class parents were excluded because we assumed they might have difficulty understanding the interview questions.[2] We expected, further, interviewers would have trouble establishing rapport with lower working-class parents.[3] Upper-class parents were excluded from the interviews largely because we anticipated intuitively that they would be less motivated than other parents (except those in the lower working class) to be interviewed about their sons' education. Most upper-class parents presumably have little or no reason to be concerned about this. Moreover, we believed that our interviewers lacked the experience and sophistication needed to interview such parents. Finally, the upper working- and upper middle classes were two contrasting groups of relatively large size. Parents from these two social classes were then chosen from seven of the eight schools in the study.[4] We tried to get from all schools a relative balance of cases with (by boys' reports) (a) father-son agreement in parents' goal and boys' aspiration,[5] and (b) father-son disagreement.

Our 277 sets of interviews were finally obtained from 397 families.[6] Twelve percent of the parents refused to be interviewed.[7] An additional

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[1] The black parents were included to compare those with sons in a predominantly black school with those whose sons were a small minority in a white middle-class school. We were able to complete interviews with only 33 of the 55 sets of black parents. The others refused to participate or could not be reached. Because of the small number of cases, the comparative study was dropped.

[2] This assumption is supported in the subsequent discussion of the "quality" of the interview data.

[3] Evidence for this is presented in Herbert H. Hyman, Interviewing in Social Research, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1954, pp. 155-157. This research also indicates that the lower their socio-economic status, the less likely persons are to be rated by interviewers as "completely frank and honest."

[4] Only black parents were drawn from the eighth school (which was comprised very largely of black students.)

[5] For this purpose, fathers were treated as having a high goal if they were described as wanting 4 or more years of college for their sons and as being "very disappointed" if they didn't attain that level; all other fathers were treated as having low goals. Boys were classified as having a high aspiration if they said they would like 4 or more years of college, and were very sure they wanted to go to college. All other boys were scored as having low aspirations.

[6] This total included the 55 black families referred to earlier.

[7] The refusal rate was greater in the upper-working class than in the upper-middle class; the ratio was about 3 to 1.

18 percent either could not be reached after many efforts, or persistently deferred making an appointment for the interview.[1]

Analysis of the interview data revealed that our plan to limit the interviews to upper working- and upper middle-class parents did not succeed. The selection of parents from these two classes was made from the ranking assigned families on the basis of boys' reports. The interviews indicated that, in a large proportion of cases, the boys erred in reporting their father's education or occupation or both.[2] Consequently, the class composition of the interview group was not what we intended it to be: 3 percent of the families were upper class, 24 percent were upper middle, 17 percent were lower middle, 48 percent were upper working, and 8 percent were lower working class.[3] In the analysis of the parent interview data (reported in Chapters 8 and 9), we therefore combine the two working-class groups of parents and compare them with the parents in the three remaining classes.

In sum, then we cannot say that the parents who were interviewed are clearly representative of any one segment of the larger sample. We believe, however, that the parents were not selected in such a way that biases the results obtained from the interviews.

The Interviewers

Thirty interviewers were selected, 24 women and six men. A more balanced sex ratio would have been preferable, but few men could be found for this relatively brief part-time work.[4] Fortunately, however, research findings suggest that female interviewers establish rapport equally well with men and women respondents.[5]

Most of the interviewers were college graduates. Some were, or had been, teachers. Others had been in social work or in personnel work. At the time of the study, most of the women interviewers were housewives. All but a few of the interviewers were middle-aged: we were concerned that they be "mature," reliable persons, appreciative of the significance of the work they were to do.

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[1] Here again the working-class parents outnumbered those from the middle class (by more than 2 to 1).

[2] See Chapter 8.

[3] Parents' own reports of their education and occupation were assumed to be correct. Therefore, these reports were substituted for boys' reports (in the analysis of questionnaire data) when disagreement was found between them.

[4] Male college students were available but we thought they would be less effective than older persons for interviewing parents of high school students. See Herbert H. Hyman, op. cit., pp. 155-157.

[5] Hyman, ibid., pp. 154-155.

Four of the interviewers were black, one was Mexican-American, and the others were white. The blacks were young women[1] who were assigned to interview the black parents, who constituted a small part of the parent sample.[2] The Mexican-American interviewer and his wife, who spoke fluent Spanish were employed primarily to interview the few Mexican-American parents in the interview group.

Training the Interviewers

The interviewers varied a good deal in interviewing experience. A few had considerable background in market research or social work, but most had relatively little practice in interview procedures. We attempted to provide as much training as possible in the available time. Interviewers were first thoroughly informed about the nature of the data being sought from the parents but were given no indication of the particular hypotheses we proposed to test. They subsequently were instructed in group sessions about principles of interviewing, and the specifics of what to do and what not to do. They were given ample opportunity to familiarize themselves with the interview schedule,[3] and were asked to do practice interviews with friends who were parents of high school boys. Then they observed simulated interviews carried out by the investigators. And finally they were required to interview one another in the presence of one or two of the investigators for an intensive evaluation of their procedure.

Arrangemnet of the Interviews

Interviews with parents were arranged by telephone shortly after they received a letter telling them that a group of parents of high school boys had been selected to participate in a study that would be useful to students, their parents and teachers and counselors. The letter stated that, since we couldn't see all parents, we had randomly chosen about 300 families ("like picking names out of a hat"). It pointed out that two members of our staff would come to see them for about an hour, one to talk to the mother, and the other to talk to the father of the high school boy. No reference was made in the letter to the survey in which their sons had taken part and no mention was made of the schools having any official association with the study involving the parents. Most appointments were then made by telephone with no difficulty. For a small proportion of the working-class parents who could not be reached by telephone, home visits were necessary to arrange appointments.

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[1] Two of these were university students.

[2] Research has demonstrated that difference in race of interviewer and interviewee can influence the responses obtained. See Hyman, op. cit., p. 159.

[3] The interview schedule was pre-tested in interviews with a small number of working- and middle-class parents. Two of the authors participated in these interviews.

Interviewers were given no information about the parents they were to see other than the name of their sons and the high school they were attending. We tried to match interviewers with parents--on the basis of our knowledge of the parents--with whom we believed they could be most effective. They were instructed to arrive at the homes in pairs so that interviews with fathers and mothers could be started at the same time. Fathers and mothers were interviewed in separate rooms to rule out the possibility of their having any influence on one another's responses.

The Quality of the Interviews

Interviewers were asked to record their impression of the persons they had interviewed in terms of (a) how interested and cooperative they had been, (b) how frankly they had answered the questions, and (c) how well they had understood the questions. The interviewers ratings are reported below. These evaluations suggest that the interviews were quite, but not entirely, successful.

Roughly 82 percent of the fathers and mothers were described as cooperative and interested, and 10 percent of the fathers and 14 percent of the mothers as cooperative but not interested. However, 26 percent of the fathers and 33 percent of the mothers were characterized by the interviewers as "pretty truthful" rather than "very truthful."[1] Finally, despite the attention we gave to the vocabulary level and clarity of the items in the interview schedule, the interviewers rated only about half the fathers and mothers as having an "excellent" understanding of the questions. Most of the other parents were said to have a "good" understanding, but 15 percent of the fathers and 12 percent of the mothers were given a lower rating. It is not surprising of course that we find that the level of question understanding imputed to parents is correlated with social-class position.[2] This finding emphasizes the problems associated with collecting data from adults having relatively little education. If the parents who were interviewed had included a large proportion who were lower working class, the quality of the interview data clearly would have been of questionable value.

Timing of the interviews

For several reasons, there was an unavoidable interval between the time the data were secured from the boys and their parents. Following the collection of the boys' questionnaires, considerable processing of the material was required (editing, coding, etc.) to secure the tabulations necessary for drawing the parent sample. We also wanted to allow enough time between the sons' and parents' participation to insure that parent responses would not be influenced by what they might have heard about the study from their sons. Finally, time was needed: to recruit and train a large staff of interviewers,[1] to arrange interviews so that (at their convenience) both parents could be seen simultaneously, and to reschedule interviews postponed because of illness or other exigencies. Because of these considerations, the parent interviews were not completed until approximately 6 months after the collection of the data from their sons. This interval should be kept in mind in connection with some of the findings of Chapter 8 (in which comparisons are made between reports of parents and children). Some of the differences found between these reports might be a function of a change in the state of variables considered. This could be the case with some attitudinal items; but in regard to factual questions, this is not likely to be so. The time lapse does not, however, have any implication for the substantive problems discussed in Chapter 9.

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[1] These ratings by the interviewers were in response to the question, "On the whole, how frank do you think the parent was?" Discussion with some of the interviewers suggests that parents described as being less than totally truthful were those thought to be giving what they regarded as the socially approved responses to a number of questions. See our discussion in Chapter 9 of this possible "interviewer effect."

[2] Seventy-one percent of the middle-class fathers, as compared with 31 percent of the working-class fathers, were rated as having an excellent understanding of the questions. The parallel class difference between the mothers is only 20 percent.

The Measure of Social Class

The social-class ranking of families is crucial to all the data analysis in this volume. A detailed description of how it was measured is presented here because it is not readily available elsewhere.

The measure used is Hollingshead's Index of Social Position (ISP).[2] ISP assigns families to five social class (designated as upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-working, and lower-working).

The two factors employed in the ISP are

> ". . . (1) the precise occupational role the head of the household performs in the economy; and (2) the amount of formal schooling he has received."[3]

Both factors are given scale scores that are then weighted and summed to obtain the ISP score. This score, in turn, assigns individuals to one of the five social-class groupings.[4]

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[1] The larger the interview staff, the more quickly all the interviews could be completed; this minimizes the possibility of communication between different sets of participating parents.

[2] August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, New Haven, 1957 (Mimeographed).

[3] Ibid, pp. 2-3.

[4] For a description of the validation of the ISP, see August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1958, pp. 398-407.

Occupation of the Head of the Household

Hollingshead's occupational scale

> ". . . is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from low evaluation of unskilled labor toward the more prestigeful use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas and the manipulation of men."[1]

In accord with ISP procedure, occupational scale scores 1 through 7, ranging from high to low rank, were assigned to broad groupings of particular job titles.

Score	Occupational Group
1	Higher executives, proprietors, and major professionals
2	Business managers, proprietors of medium-sized businesses, and lesser professionals
3	Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals
4	Clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses
5	Skilled manual employees
6	Machine operators and semi-skilled employees
7	Unskilled employees and relief recipients.

Education of the Head of the Household

> "The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns."[2]

For determining the ISP, education is ranked from high to low in seven steps, scored from 1 to 7, as indicated below.

Score	Education
1	Graduate degree[3]
2	Finsihed 4 or more years of college
3	Went to college but did not finish
4	Finished Grade 12
5	Grade 10 or 11

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[1] Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] Hollingshead, ibid, p. 9.

[3] "Graduate degree" was inferred from the parents' occupation.

Score	Education
6	Grade 7, 8, or 9
7	Grade 6 or less

Social Class Assignment Procedures

The following procedures were used in assigning families to one of five social classes.

1. When information on both father's occupation and education was available, the occupation scale score (multiplied by 7) was added to the education scale score (multiplied by 4) to obtain the total score for assigning the family to a particular class. (The total scores determining the class assignment are given below.) When information was totally lacking for the father, the mother's occupation and education served as the basis for the family's social class assignment.

2. Given information only about father's occupation, the family's social class assignment was based on the modal social class frequency associated with his occupational level in the group described above. In the absence of any information about the father, and given only information about mother's occupation, the same procedure was followed.

3. Given information only about father's education, the family's social class assignment was determined by the modal social class frequency associated with his educational level in the group described above. The procedure was the same for families in which information was available only about mothers' education.

Scores for placement of families in social class

The sum of the weighted scores for occupation and education of the head of the household determined the family's social-class ranking. The scores placing families in the five classes are given below.

Scores	Social Class
11-14	Upper
15-27	Upper Middle
28-43	Lower Middle
44-60	Upper Working
61-71	Lower Working

Problems in Social Class Assignment

Accurate social class ranking of families requires correct information about the education of the family head and sufficiently complete information about his (or her) occupation to permit appropriate scoring. When this information is obtained from students in high school or lower grade levels, its correctness simply cannot be taken for granted. Boys' reports, judging by our findings in Chapter 8, are quite often in error or incomplete.[1] Apart from the possible error in boys' reports of their fathers' education, difficulties arise in many cases because of the vagueness or incompleteness of the boys' description of their fathers' occupation.[2] Although investigators who use such data are undoubtedly aware of their limitations, these are rarely mentioned in research publications.

Data Obtained from Counselors and School Records

Counselors in the eight schools included in our study were asked to rate their students on three variables: how far they (1) could go in school if they were adequately motivated, (2) wanted to go, and (3) were likely to go. (See Appendix B for instructions given the counselors.)[3]

School records provided students' grades for the semester preceding our study. The grades used in our variable, "average grade," were those for "solid" subjects only.[4] The number of subjects on which this average was based varied according to students' orientation: the number was greater for those oriented to going to a 4-year college or a university. Students' letter grades in solid subjects were weighted in our calculations as follows: 5 for A's; 4 for B's, 3 for C's ; 2 for D's; and 1 for F's.

Achievement test scores also were secured from school records, but are not used in our study for two reasons. First, comparable test scores were not available for students in all the schools.[5] Second, we were advised by a number of school personnel[6] not to attach any significance to the scores because, for many working-class students, they were little more than a measure of lack of motivation to perform well on the tests.

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[1] Nor is checking children's reports against school records an altogether reliable method for determining their accuracy. School records are frequently not up to date on items like parents' occupation.

2 See Paul Wallin and Leslie C. Waldo, "Indetermininancies in Ranking of Fathers' Occupation," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 28, Summer, 1964, pp. 287-292.

3 The number of tenth-grade boys' counselors in the schools ranged from one to four. The school with one counselor is included in our "low-status" schools. (See Chapter 3.) Each of the three other schools in this category had three counselors.

4 These are subjects such as mathematics and English (which are required for admission to college). Grades in courses such as physical education or typing were excluded.

5 This was because six of the eight schools were in one school district, and two were in another district.

6 In the predominantly working-class schools.

Evaluation of Statistical Significance of Findings

No tests of statistical significance are employed and no measures of association between variables are reported in our discussion of the data. We have not used the former because we favor the pattern and consistency of findings as the basis for judging the confidence with which results of tests of our hypotheses can be accepted.[1] We have omitted correlation coefficients because our effort has been directed more to the theoretical explication of a large number of relationships and less, at the present time, to attempting to determine precisely how much of the variance in the dependent variables of concern to us can be accounted for by various antecedent conditions. Information for calculating levels of significance or coefficients of association is provided in all tables for readers interested in doing so. Our data are presented in the form of percentages, rather than in terms of means or medians, because the latter are so often less descriptive of the character of distributions, and mask interesting and suggestive departures from central tendencies which are revealed by percentages.

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[1] This is a controversial issue. See Hanan C. Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, 1957, pp. 519-527.

CHAPTER 3

SCHOOL AND FAMILY AS GOAL DETERMINANTS

This chapter deals with the question of whether, independently of family influence, the qualities of a school effect a change in students' goals. More concretely the question is: Are the educational goals of tenth-grade working-class boys in predominantly middle-class schools higher than the goals of students from comparable families who attend predominantly working-class schools? And, similarly, are the goals of middle-class boys lowered by their being in schools having a majority of working-class students?[1]

Phrasing the question of school effect[2] in this form entails making two important assumptions. The first is that a number of characteristics (e.g., quality or attitudes of teachers) which could systematically affect students' goals vary positively with the social-class composition of schools.[3] The second assumption is that presumably because of influences deriving from family socio-economic status, boys of working-class origin tend to enter high school with lower educational goals than middle-class boys. This difference is assumed to hold regardless of the social composition of the schools they enter. Without empirical support for this assumption, evidence of school effects on educational goals or related variables is less than decisive. The finding that tenth-grade working-class boys have higher goals in middle-class schools could be interpreted as due to their being a select group who, when they entered these schools, already had higher goals than did their peers who enrolled in working-class schools. This could be argued on the ground that their families were living in, or on the periphery of, a predominantly middle-class neighborhood and, hence, were more middle class than working class in their educational outlook.[1] A parallel interpretation could be advanced for the finding that middle-class boys tend to have lower goals in a working-class school than those attending a middle-class school.

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[1] Actually, as will be seen below, our empirical analysis deals with boys in three types of schools and with their families grouped into five social classes.

[2] The term "school effect" is used to denote any influence deriving from the school which has the consequence of lowering or raising boys' educational goals.

[3] It might be supposed that these characteristics would be present in greater degree in middle-class than in working-class students. Although this assumption was not tested in the present study, there is a good deal of evidence to support it. See the Coleman Report for evidence of differences between schools attended by white and "average minority" pupils (op. cit. pp. 36-217). Many of the observed school differences between racial groups are associated with the differences between student bodies of schools in their family background which are indexed by social class. For school differences as related to socio-economic status of neighborhoods in which they are located, see Patricia Sexton, Education and Income, Viking Press, New York, 1961. For some of the statistical difficulties encountered in the measurement of school resources, see Samuel Bowles and Henry M. Levin, "The Determinants of Scholastic Achievement--An Appraisal of Some Recent Evidence," Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 3, No. 1, Winter, 1968, pp. 3-24.

Bearing these two assumptions in mind, the hypothesis of school effect can be tested by the prediction that (a) tenth-grade working-class students in middle-class schools, and (b) middle-class students in working class schools will have lower goals than their counterparts in middle-class schools. More generally, the prediction would be that the higher the status level of a school the greater the proportion of students of any social class having the higher goals. This chapter presents evidence testing this hypothesis and others relating to the question of school effect.

These tests require comparisons between students of similar social class attending schools which differ in the class composition of their student bodies. Our procedure, described below, for meeting this requirement permits examination of the independent effect of both school type and family social class on students, goals, and many variables which can be presumed to influence them. The data analysis of this chapter, therefore, addresses itself not only to the question of school effect, but also to the relation between students' home environment and related variables.

Significance of Study of School Effects

Studies of school effects are highly significant because their findings could have far-reaching policy implications for existing educational systems. This is particularly true of research which, in terms of our theoretical framework, demonstrates that particular school characteristics do or do not influence the educational goals of students by the impact they have on their educational aspirations and/or on the factors which determine their judgment of the feasibility of realizing these aspirations.[2] The policy implications of positive findings of this character need little comment. They would give direction to the efforts of government, school officials, and community groups concerned with raising the levels of educational attainment. Negative findings on school effects--insofar as they are decisive--would also be important. By showing that schools, as currently organized and operated, have no independent effect on the educational orientation of students, they would contribute support to programs calling for experimental modifications of prevailing school structures and practices.

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[1] Data collected from parents suggest that working-class students in middle-class schools and middle-class students in working-class schools are not select groups (see Chapter 9).

[2] The complexities of this task are exemplified by the controversy regarding the findings of the Coleman Report (op. cit.) which limited itself largely to the effect of selected school attributes on the achievement test scores of students. See Bowles and Levin, op. cit.

The purpose of the research described in this chapter was not to deal empirically with the relation of particular school characteristics to the determinants of students' educational goals. Rather, we assumed that unspecified school characteristics would be indexed by the class composition of schools and investigated whether these characteristics influenced student goals and goal determinants. Findings of school effects, consequently, cannot be imputed to specific school attributes or practices. They do show, however, that some unspecified differences between high schools do have an independent effect on student goals. Negative findings would support the view that whatever the differences between high schools which are a function of their social-class composition, these differences do not alter the goals of their students. This, of course, would not rule out the possibility that school differences at the elementary or junior high school level could have such a consequence.

As indicated above, our empirical assessment of independent school effects required that we control the influence of family background on the variables being studied. The results of the chapter have an important methodological consequence: if schools do have a substantial independent effect on students' goals or associated variables (e.g., parents' goals for their children), it would be necessary to control school type in studying other determinants of these factors. Absence of evidence of school effect obviates the need for this more complicated analysis.

We will not attempt at this point to review the various considerations which argue for and against the hypothesis of school effect. Some of these are discussed subsequently in conjunction with the presentation of data. We now turn to a description of the method of grouping students by school type and family social class employed in the analysis of school effect.

Grouping of Students by School Type and Family Social Class

High schools differ in the social-class composition of their student bodies because school district boundaries are drawn to serve specified residential areas.[1] Since residence is determined largely by economic status,[1] neighborhoods tend to be relatively homogeneous in their inhabitants' occupational status and, therefore, can be characterized as predominantly lower- or upper-working class, lower- or upper-middle class, or upper class. Consequently, schools in such neighborhoods will tend to be composed of students from families of the same or contiguous social strata. The concentration of students who share a similar family background will vary with the homogeneity of their neighborhoods and the location of the boundaries of the districts encompassing the schools.[2] Working-class children may constitute minorities of varying magnitude in schools where the majority of the students are from middle-class families. Conversely, middle-class students may be minorities in differing degrees in largely working-class schools.

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[1] See Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, p. 837, 1959.

Our data analysis required that students be grouped by school type and family background. School types were established by dividing the eight schools studied into three categories on the basis of the social-class composition of their student bodies. Table 3.1 shows the composition of the individual schools in the groups we have designated low, intermediate, and high status. More than half to about three-quarters of the students in the four low-status schools come from working class families, compared with more than a third in the two intermediate-status schools, and a fourth or fewer in the two high-status schools. Moreover, whereas a large proportion of the boys in the higher status schools are from upper- or middle-class families, this is true only of a small percentage of those in the low-status schools.

The social-class ranking of their families was the basis for grouping students by similarity of family background within the three school categories. Because it is derived from the education and occupation of the head of the household, family social class was used for this purpose. We assumed it would embrace better than any other index the family conditions and processes that could determine the educational goals of children. The five social classes obtained by Hollingshead's weighting of education and occupation were left uncombined in our analysis in order to differentiate students' family background as sharply as possible.[3]

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[1] Except in the case of racial or ethnic minorities such as blacks, Orientals, etc., whose residential location is dictated not only by income, but also by restrictions arising from prejudice and discrimination.

[2] The social-class composition of school student bodies can be changed, of course, by revision of school boundaries or by bussing children from distant neighborhoods as is being done in some communities for purposes of racial desegregation of schools.

[3] As expected from the basis of their grouping, very few lower working-class students are found in the intermediate-and high-status schools and only a small number of upper-class children appear in the low-status schools. Analysis of the effect of school type, therefore, can proceed with some confidence for students from families in the upper-working, lower-middle, and upper-middle class. The results for lower working-class students in intermediate and high-status schools and for upper-class students in low-status schools must be viewed as having suggestive value only.

Findings on School and Family Effects

The data on school and family effects are presented in nine sections whose content is suggested by the rubrics designating them: (a) parents, (b) best friends, (c) other peers, (d) students' perception of teachers' and counselors' evaluation of them, (e) counselors' own evaluations of students, (f) students' attitude toward school, (g) students' personality and value orientations, (h) students' occupational aspirations, (i) students' goals and their immediate determinants.

Parents

Apart from the direct influence schools might exert on the educational goals of students, they also could have this effect by influencing parents who could in turn have an impact on their children.[1] This section examines data relating to a number of possible manifestations of school effects on parents: their interest in their sons' school performance, their emphasis on the importance of college, their estimate of their sons' academic ability, their educational goals for them, and the level of education they anticipate their sons will attain. In addition, we consider boys' reports of how many of their friends their parents think have had a "bad" or "good" influence on their school work.

The reader is reminded that in this and all other sections we are, at one and the same time, examining data for evidence of the effects of students' school type and family background. In scanning tables for indications of family influence, we look at the relation between family social class and the variable under consideration within the three types of schools. This requires reading the percentages across table rows. To the extent that the observed relationship is similar in all school types, we gain confidence in concluding that it is independent of school type. To ascertain school effect, we look at the relation between school type and the variable under consideration within the five social classes. This requires comparing the percentages in each of the five class columns and noting whether the responses to an item in a given social class differ between those in low-, intermediate-, and high-status schools.

Parents' Interest in Sons' School Performance

Students were asked, "How much interest does your mother (father) have in how well you are doing with your school work?" The next two tables[2] deal with their responses for fathers and mothers as possible indicators of school effect on the parents.

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[1] An association between parents' attitudes and the status of the school attended by their sons, with family social class controlled moreover, could be a reflection of the effect of the school on its students--who then influenced their parents. Regardless of how it were interpreted, however, evidence of school effect on parents would support the hypothesis of school effect on students.

[2] Tables follow the text at the end of this, and other, chapters.

A small positive correlation can be seen in Table 3.2 between mothers' degree of interest in their sons' school work and families' social status. In all three school types the lower the social-class level of the family, the greater the percentage of mothers reported to have "little" interest in their sons' academic performance, and the smaller the proportion--except in high-status schools--said to have "a lot" of interest.

There is, however, no indication that school type affects mothers' interest in their sons' work. Within each social class, roughly the same proportions of mothers in the three school categories are said to have a little, some, or a lot of interest. The one exception is the 11 mothers in the lower working class whose sons are in high-status schools. A greater degree of interest is imputed to them by their sons than to mothers in the lower-status schools. But the difference, even if reliable, is small--only 12 percent.

The data for fathers are presented in Table 3.3. For fathers, as for mothers, there is little consistent evidence of school effect. Indeed, for lower working- and upper-class students there is a suggestion of a negative effect since more of those in the low-status schools than of those in the two high-status schools report their fathers to have "a lot" of interest in their work. (The comparisons in both instances, however, involve groups having a small number of cases.) The one social class for which there is an indication of school effect on fathers is the upper middle. Boys of this class who are in low-status schools are much more likely than those in the two higher status schools (19 percent compared with 1 and 1 percent, respectively) to characterize their fathers as having little interest in their performance.

While the data of Table 3.3 show no consistent relation between school type and fathers' interest in their sons' school work, a more marked association is seen between fathers' interest and family social class, than was noted for mothers. This association, however, is evident only for students in the intermediate- and high-status schools. In these schools the higher the family social class, the greater the proportion of fathers who are reported to take " a lot" of interest in their sons' performance, and the smaller the percentage having "some interest."

Parents' Emphasis on Importance of College

Do parents having sons in higher status schools put more emphasis on the importance of attending college than those whose boys are in lower status schools? The data on this question are boys' reports of whether their parents ever said anything which shows that they "think it's important for you to go to college?"

Table 3.4 shows no school difference at all among mothers from lower-middle and upper-middle class families. Working-class mothers are a little more likely to be represented as emphasizing the importance of college if their children are in the high- rather than the low-status schools. But the difference is small and could well be due to chance. The largest school effect is manifest among upper-class mothers. Those whose sons are in the low-status schools are said to emphasize the importance of college less frequently than mothers in the other school categories. But there are only 17 mothers in the former group and the difference may not be reliable.

There is, however, a rather consistent positive correlation between mothers' frequency of emphasis on college and family social class. This association is found in the three school categories.

This applies to fathers as well, as we see in the data of Table 3.5. These data again provide little support for the presumption of school effect. No school effect is manifest among those who are lower- or upper-middle class. There is some indication of school influence among upper working-class fathers when those whose children are in the low-status schools are compared with those with children in the high-status schools. A larger percentage of fathers in the latter category than in the former (41 versus 30) are described as emphasizing college a few times (rather than less often). A school effect in the same direction is evident among lower working-class and upper-class fathers, but the comparisons of schools here involve groups with small numbers.

Parents' Estimate of Boys' Academic Ability

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 show boys' reports of their mothers' and fathers' estimates of their ability. The question asked the boys was "In her (his) opinion, how far could you go in school if you tried your best?"[1]

Table 3.6 shows that mothers' estimates of their sons' ability are associated with family social class. Mothers in the higher social classes are considerably more likely than those in the lower classes to think their sons can finish 4 or more years of college. But there is little evidence that the social status of the schools their children attend has any independent effect on mothers' estimates of their ability. School influence on these estimates is manifest only among upper-middle class mothers: mothers with sons in the high-status schools are 11 percent more likely than those whose sons are in the low-status schools to think their sons have the ability to finish 4 or more years of college. Among upper-class mothers, on the other hand, those having sons in high-status schools are represented as rating their sons' ability at a lower level than mothers whose sons are in the intermediate- or low-status schools.

Fathers' estimates of their sons' ability are shown in Table 3.7. As with those of mothers, we find a positive relationship between fathers' estimates and family social class. (The association for fathers is less marked for those having sons in high-status schools than for fathers having sons in the other school categories.)

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[1] Because few boys said their parents thought they only "could finish high school" this response is combined in the tables with "finish a couple of years of college." A considerable number of boys said they didn't know their parents' evaluation of their ability. This explains why the totals in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 are smaller than in the other tables of this section.

The school effect indicated for fathers' evaluations of their sons' ability is sufficiently small to be due to chance. It is interesting to note that the very slight effect on upper-middle and upper-class fathers[1] is a negative one, as was true for upper-class mothers; however, the small positive school effect among fathers in the upper-working and lower-middle classes is positive. Lower working-class fathers whose sons are in high-status schools are more likely by (25 percent) than fathers of sons in the other schools to think they can finish college. There are, however, only nine fathers in the former group.

Parents' Educational Goals

Boys were asked how far their fathers and mothers wanted them to go in school and four additional questions intended to measure each parent's intensity of desire for the son to go to college. These five questions are the basis of the goal scores for mothers and fathers.[2] In evaluating school effect on parents' goals, data are presented both for the single question and for the goal scores.

Table 3.7 presents the data on how much schooling mothers want for their sons. As with preceding variables, we observe a consistent social-class influence, but an independent school effect is evidenced only among lower working-class mothers--and it is negative. The higher the school status, the smaller the proportions of mothers reported to want more than 4 years of college for their sons. Mothers of lower working-class students in the higher status schools are more likely to be described as desiring only 4 years of college for them.

Only in the upper working class do mothers' goal scores (Table 3.9) show an independent school effect. Again it is negative. The higher the status of their sons' schools, the smaller the percentage of mothers having high scores and the larger the percentage having intermediate scores.

The findings on how far fathers want their sons to go in school (Table 3.10) roughly correspond to those reported for mothers. This is consistently related to their social-class position, the class differences being especially marked in the proportions of each class who desire less than 4 years of college for their sons. (E.g., among fathers whose sons are in the low-status schools, these percentages range from 59 percent for the lower working-class fathers to 6 percent for the upper class.)

A very slight negative school effect is suggested for lower working- and upper working-class fathers. They are a little more likely to be reported as wanting more than 4 years of college for their sons when their sons are in low- rather than the high-status schools.

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[1] When fathers having sons in the high-status schools are compared with fathers of sons in the other school categories.

[2] See Appendix A for details of the scale.

Turning to the data on fathers' goal scale scores (Table 3.11), we note the negative effect only among those of the upper working class. A larger proportion of these fathers has high scores if their children are in the low-status schools. A positive effect is suggested for lower working-class fathers. A smaller percentage of these fathers have intermediate scores and a larger percentage have low scores if their sons are in the low-status schools rather than in the higher status schools. Finally, a small positive effect is indicated for fathers of the upper-middle class.

How Far Parents Expect Their Sons to Go in School

The type of school their sons attend could have an influence on parents which, in turn, could influence their sons' goals, or their sons' goals could be directly affected by their schools. Either or both kinds of influence presumably would be reflected in how far parents expected their sons to go in school. Parents' expectations were obtained by asking the students whether they thought their mothers and fathers would be surprised if they finished high school, 2 years of college, or 4 years of college.

The data of Table 3.12 indicate that boys' reports of their mothers' expectations are positively associated with family social class in all three school categories. The data also indicate a small positive school effect among all mothers except those in the upper class. A slightly smaller proportion[1] of lower middle-class mothers, whose sons attend a high-status school, than of those having sons in the other two school categories, expect their sons to complete less than 2 years of college. A similar pattern can be seen among all working-class mothers. But upper middle-class mothers are less likely to expect their sons to finish 4 years of college if they attend low-status schools.[2]

The relation of fathers' expectations to social class, seen in Table 3.13 is similar to that found for mothers, but there is less indication of positive school effect in the case of the fathers. This occurs only for lower middle-class fathers: a smaller percentage of fathers whose sons attend high-status schools expect them to complete less than 2 years of college than those having sons in the other school categories.[3]

Parents' Evaluation of the Their Sons' Friends: "Bad Influence"

Mothers and fathers make some evaluation of how their sons' friends influence their school performance. Parents are probably more concerned and aprehensive about friends they friends they regard as having a bad influence and are likely to communicate their opinions emphatically to their children. On the other hand, boys undoubtedly learn quickly that "good influence" friends have their parents' approval.

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[1] Ten percent compared with 18 and 19 percent.

[2] Sixty-one percent compared with 72 and 73 percent in the other school categories.

[3] Nine percent compared with 18 and 20 percent, respectively.

Most middle-class parents may be uneasy about having their boys attend a predominantly working-class school because they think their offspring are more likely to make undesirable friends in a school of this type than in one having students mostly from "better" families (i.e., a middle-class school). Similarly, some working-class parents[1] may tend to think that their sons would run less of a risk, with respect to "poor influence" friends, in a middle-class school than in a working-class school.

Students were asked, "Do you have any friends that your mother (father) feels have a bad influence on your school work?" Their responses to the question, as shown in Tables 3.14 and 3.15, indicate whether the number of undesirable friends parents are said to perceive their sons as having is, in fact, related to the social-class composition of their schools.

Table 3.14 shows that within each of the social classes there is little variation by school level in sons' reports of the number of friends whom their mothers consider a bad influence. There may be a possible school difference in the hypothesized direction among the mothers of boys in the lower working class. Boys in the low-status schools are about 10 percent more likely than those in the other school categories to say they have one or two friends of whom their mothers disapprove. A second school difference appears among upper-class students. Those in the intermediate schools are more likely (by 20 percent) than those in the low- and high-status schools to report they have three or more friends regarded by their mothers as a bad influence. It is of interest that as large a proportion (76 percent) of upper-class boys in the low-status schools as in the high-status schools say they have no friends whom their parents regard as bad influences.

But whether students have friends of whom they think their mothers disapprove, however, has in general little connection with students' family position. A slight relation can be seen in the intermediate- and high-status schools. In the intermediate schools a larger proportion of upper-class boys than of those in the other social classes describe themselves as having three or more friends who are not approved of by their mothers. In the high-status schools, on the other hand, a smaller percentage of the upper-class boys than of students in the other social classes say they have three or more such friends.

Students' reports of fathers' opinions of their friends are presented in Table 3.15. Here again, little evidence is found for the view that the status of the school students attend increases or decreases the probability that they will make friends of whom their parents will disapprove. But a few small differences by school level can be noted.

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[1] Particularly those with high educational goals for their sons.

First, the higher the status level of their school, the smaller the percentage of upper middle-class boys who report they have one or two friends to whom their fathers attribute a bad influence on their school work.

Another school difference is one also observed in the data for mothers: a larger proportion of upper-class boys in the intermediate-status schools than in the others have three or more friends of whom they think their fathers disapprove. And in the judgment of fathers, as of mothers, upper-class boys in the low-status schools are apparently not at a disadvantage in the friends they make. A larger proprotion of boys of this class in the low-status schools have no friends whom their fathers consider undesirable.

Fathers' negative evaluation of their sons' friends--like those of mothers--have little consistent relation to family social-class position.

"Good Influence" Friends

We now consider whether there is any association between the type of schools children attend and their parents' judgment of the number of friends who exercise a good influence on their school work. Here it might be hypothesized that the higher the status level of their school, the larger would be the number of such friends reported by both working-class and middle-class students. Tables 3.16 and 3.17 show students' responses to the question, "Do you have any friends that your mother (father) feels have a good influence on your school work?" The data of these tables again provide little support for the assumption that the type of school boys attend determines the kind of friends the parents think they have.

Looking first at sons' reports of how their mothers view their friends (Table 3.16). We see that, contrary to what might have been expected, in the three lower social classes a larger proportion of students in the low-status than in the high-status schools report having three or more friends who are favorably regarded by their mothers. This difference, however, is of meaningful magnitude (15 percent) only among lower middle-class students. Upper middle-class students in the high-status schools are more likely (by 8 percent) than those in the low-status schools to report having three or more "good influence" friends. The latter also are more likely than the former to report that they have one or two friends whom their mothers view favorably. Roughly the same proportion of upper-class students in the three school categories say they have three or more friends who are favorably evaluated by their mothers. The few upper-class students in the low-status schools are more likely than those in the intermediate- and high-status schools to say they have less than three friends who are regarded as a good influence.

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[1] Whenever comparable data are reported for fathers and mothers, it should be kept in mind that questionnaires filled out on different days were used to elicit the data. This reduces the likelihood that boys' responses to questions about their fathers (which were in the second questionnaire) were influenced by their earlier responses to the same questions about their mother.

Unlike the finding for "bad influence" friends, we do find a positive relationship between students' social-class position and the number of friends their parents think are good influences, but this relationship appears only among students in the intermediate- and high-status schools. In the intermediate schools, the higher their social class, the greater the percentage of boys who report three or more "good influence" friends, and the lower the percentage reporting no such friends. Among boys in high-status schools, the differences are that upper-middle and upper-class boys are more likely than boys in the lower three classes to report that their parents think they have three or more "good influence" friends and less likely to report having one or two friends seen this way.

We turn now to the data of Table 3.17 for boys' reports about their fathers' appraisals of their friends. As was true of mothers, we find a positive relationship between family social class and the number of their sons' friends fathers think are a good influence on their school work. In the low- and high-status schools, the higher the family social-class position, the larger the percentage of fathers who are reported to think this of three or more of their sons' friends.

As for school effect, we find that boys in low-status schools are more likely than those in the high-status schools to say that their fathers think of them as having three or more "good influence" friends. This most unexpected school difference holds for students in all but the upper class.

Students Reports About Their Two Best Friends

Students were asked several questions about their "two best friends in the tenth grade in this school." Three of the questions were: whether their friends would graduate from college, whether they felt it important to get good grades, and whether knowing these boys made them more interested in their schoolwork. Students' responses to these questions are given in Tables 3.18, 3.19, and 3.20.

Whether Best Friends Will Finish College

One supposedly important way in which the social-class composition of a school could affect the educational goals of students is by influencing their possibility of making friends with students who are positively oriented toward a college education. Given the correlation between students' social-class position and their educational goals,[1] it follows that the higher the status level of a school, the more students it will have with a relatively serious interest in a college education. It is problematic, however, whether a student's choice of such friends is indeed affected by the proportions of them in his school, since it could be argued that students in most high schools tend to establish friendships with persons similar to themselves in meaningful ways--including their attitude to a college education. Assuming that such similarity between friends is indexed by their families being in the same social-class position, it might be anticipated that a student's having friends with a positive orientation to college would be determined primarily by his family background rather than by the social-class composition of his school. Evidence on this issue is provided by the data of Table 3.18 which show the percentages of students reporting they think both, one, or neither of ther best friends will finish 4 years of college. Granted, the plausible assumption that students share with their two best friends the likelihood of finishing or not finishing college, it remains an open question whether the similarity of educational goals resulted from the friendship or was one of the bases of its formation. Friends may reinforce one another's educational goals and ultimate attainment. This could be an important effect in the case of students whose plans are tentative or who are ambivalent about their educational orientation. The critical question, however, is whether a friendship can lead to a change of plans. This sort of influence has not been studied: it would require longitudinal case-study research.

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[1] See Table 3.50.

The data show clear trends for all three school levels between students' social-class position and reports about their friends. In the low-status schools, the proportion of students who say both their best friends will finish college rises (with one inversion) from 10 percent in the lower working class to 53 percent in the upper class. And the proportion who think neither of their friends will finish college declines from 47 percent in the lower working class to 6 percent in the upper class. In the other two school categories, the trend is most evident in the percentages of students within each social class who expect both their friends to finish college.[1]

In contrast to these differences by social class, differences by school status level among boys from the same family background are small, and generally not consistent in pattern. The one small difference found among boys of all classes is that the percentage who report that neither of their best friends will finish college is greater in the intermediate- than in the high-status schools. Moreover, in only three classes do a larger proportion of students in the low-status than in the intermediate-status schools report that neither of their friends will complete college.[2]

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[1] Similar findings are reported for a study of male seniors in 30 high schools in North Carolina. See Ernest Q. Campbell and C. Norman Alexander, "Structural Effects and Interpersonal Relationships," American Journal of Sociology, 71, 1965, pp. 284-289. See, too, C. N. Alexander and E. Q. Campbell, "Peer Influence on Adolescents' Educational Aspirations and Attainment," American Sociological Review, 29, 1964, pp. 568-575.

[2] Two of these differences are under 6 percent. The one consequential difference, 26 percent, is in the lower working class. Although this comparison involves one group of 19 students (lower working-class students in the intermediate schools), the consistent pattern found for lower working-class students suggests that they may differ reliably by school level in the probability that neither of their two best friends will be perceived as likely to graduate.

It is interesting to note that none of the ten lower working-class boys in the high-status schools think that both his best friends will finish college. This contrasts sharply with the other extreme minority group, the 17 boys from upper-class families in the low-status schools, more than half of whom think their two best friends will graduate from college. Upper middle-class boys in low-status schools, however, are considerably less likely than those in the other school categories to say this of their friends.

In summary, whether students think their close friends will go through college seems much more a result of what is indexed by their social-class position than by the class composition of their particular school.[1] Although there is some indication that the type of school students attend influences their choice of friends, the influence is not substantial.[2]

How Best Friends Regard Good Grades

Students' reports about whether their two best friends feel getting good grades is important are shown in Table 3.19. As with the previous item--although to a lesser degree--these reports are correlated with students' social-class position. The higher the students' social class, the greater tends to be the percentage who say both friends consider grades important.[3]

There is some indication of a relation between school type and the importance friends are said to impute to grades. The more consistent difference is between students in the low- and high-status schools. In all but the lower working class, a slightly larger percentage of the latter than of the former report that both their friends think grades important. The small group of lower working-class students in the high-status schools are much less likely than lower working-class students in the other schools to say that grades are important to their two friends, but more likely to say this holds for one of them.

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[1] The operative variable is probably the students' own educational goals, which tend to be higher in the upper classes than in the lower classes.

[2] The higher the students' class position, the greater the probability that their best friends will be college oriented and consequently be more concerned with grades.

[3] A similar finding is reported by Campbell and Alexander, op. cit., p. 286.

Whether Best Friends Made Students More Interested in School Work

We asked students whether knowing their two best friends had made them "less or more interested in doing well" in their school work.[1] Insofar as friends could influence students' orientation to doing well in school, it might be expected (a) that this influence would be positively correlated with students' social-class position, and (b) that this influence would be associated with school status.[2]

The data of Table 3.20 provide some support for the first expectation and tend to run counter to the second. In both the low- and high-status schools, the trend is that the higher the students' social class, the greater the proportions who report their best friends made them more interested in doing well in school work and the smaller the proportions who report their friends made no difference in this regard. This social-class association is absent in schools of intermediate status.

The relation of best friends' influence to school status is surprising. Except for upper-class students, we find that the lower the status level of the school, the greater the percentage of students who report that both their best friends made them more interested in doing well in their studies. This finding is consistent with the assumption that in higher status schools, because boys are more self-motivated to do well in school, they are less likely to be dependent on friends' influence on their orientation to school work. However, this assumption is incompatible with the positive correlation found between students' social-class position and their being influenced by friends, because the higher boys' social-class position, the more one might assume them to be self-motivated in their school work.

Students' Reports About Their Tenth-Grade Peers

In addition to the questions regarding their two best friends, students were asked the following questions about their tenth grade as a whole: (1) How many of the boys in the tenth grade at this school will finish 4 years of college? (2) As far as you can tell, do the boys in the tenth grade feel it is or is not important to get good grades (As or Bs)? (3) In your opinion, what do teachers think of the ability of most of the tenth-grade students in your school? (4) Would most of the boys you know[3] be surprised if you finished: (a) high school, (b) 2 years of college, (c) 4 years of college?

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[1] Since virtually none of the students gave the "less interested" response it is omitted from the discussion of the data.

[2] That is, the higher students' social class, the greater the likelihood that their friends would regard success in school as important. And, the higher the status level of the school they attend, the more likely students will be to have friends who are concerned with doing well in school. Both these assumptions are supported by the data in Table 3.18.

[3] The phrase "in the tenth grade in your school" was inadvertently omitted from this question. Since it followed the three other questions we assume it also was answered in terms of the tenth grades in the school.

Responses to the first three of these questions indicate students' perception of the academic orientation of their school student body. The question asking students about the level of education their peers expect them to attain is most germane to the problem of school effect. Responses to the question would be expected to be related to students' social class, but they could also show school effect, if it be assumed that peer expectations have some influence on students' academic achievement.

How Many Tenth Graders Will Finish College

Responses[1] to this question are presented in Table 3.21. Students' answers to it are unrelated to their social-class position except in the low-status schools where a larger proportion of lower- and upper working-class boys than of boys from other classes predict that less than a third of their peers will graduate from college.[2]

Students' predictions of how far their tenth-grade peers will go in school do vary to some extent in all social classes with the status level of their school. A smaller percentage of boys in the low-status schools than in the high-status schools anticipate that half or more of their tenth-grade peers will complete 4 years of college. Furthermore, within all social classes students in the low-status schools are more likely than those in the high-status schools to predict college graduation for less than a third of their tenth grade. The predictions made by boys in the intermediate-status schools tend to fall between those of their peers in the low- and high-status school categories.

Importance of Grades

Table 3.22 presents boys' reports of how important they think grades are to their classmates. These reports are uncorrelated with the students' social-class position. As for school differences, only a very small proportion in all 15 groups of students is said to consider grades "very important;" the proportion does not vary consistently with school level. There are some school differences, however, in the percentage of boys described as regarding grades as "less than pretty important."[3] Within each social class, this percentage is larger in the low-status schools than in the high-status schools. Within the working class (lower and upper) and the upper middle class, the percentage of tenth graders who are said to view grades as "pretty important" is larger in the high-status schools than in the low-status schools.[4]

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[1] In answering the question, almost none of the students in any of the schools checked "all" or "most." These answers, therefore, are combined with the reply that "about half" the students in the school would finish college.

[2] The working-class boys undoubtedly are making the more accurate predictions.

[3] That is, "not very important" and "not at all important."

[4] The difference is not found among lower-middle and upper-class boys.

What Teachers Think of the Ability of Most Tenth Graders

The school differences in students' predictions of the proportion of their classmates who will finish college indicate some awareness of the academic level of the schools they were attending. One of the determinants of students' perception of the academic level of their school might be actions or remarks by teachers conveying evaluations of the ability of the students. School differences would then be anticipated in boys' reports of what teachers think of the ability of most of the tenth graders within their school. As can be seen in Table 3.23, this expectation is borne out only in slight degree.

Before commenting on school differences, we should note that reports about teachers have no relationship to boys' social-class position. Quite surprising are the very small percentages of boys in the low-status schools in all social classes reporting that teachers think most tenth graders have "little" or "very little" ability. This finding does not accord with the widespread view that teachers in working class schools explicitly or otherwise communicate negative evaluations to their students.

School differences in the evaluations imputed to teachers are small and show no consistent trend. No differences are observed among upper-class boys. The direction of those found for upper working-class students is counter to what would be predicted: the percentage of teachers said to think students have "a lot" of ability is higher in the low-status schools than in the others.[1] Lower middle and upper middle class boys in the high-status schools are more likely than those in the low-status schools to say teachers think their students have a lot of ability; but inexplicably, students in the intermediate schools are less likely to say this about their teachers than students in the low-status schools.

How Far Their Peers Expect Boys to Go in School

Students' replies to the question "Would most of the boys you know be surprised if you finished high school, 2 years of college, 4 years of college?" are given in Table 3.24. As with so many of the items examined, the data again show students' reports to be substantially associated with their family social-class position and only slightly related to the status level of their school.

The higher their social class, the larger the percentage of boys who say their peers will not be surprised if they finish college, and the smaller the percentage who report that their peers expect less than junior college from them. With a few minor inversions, this relationship is found in each school category. There is no evidence of school differences in the expectations peers have about the likelihood of lower, middle, and upper middle class students finishing college, but there is a consistent though slight indication that the lower the status level of the school attended by upper-class students, the less likely their peers are to expect them to graduate from college. No consistent school difference appears among upper working-class boys. The largest proportion of these students reporting that their peers expect them to finish 4 years of college is found in the low-status schools. In the case of lower working-class boys, on the other hand, the largest proportion reporting this peer expectation is in the high-status schools.

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[1] The difference, however, is less than 10 percent.

Students' Perceptions of Their Counselors' and Teachers' Evaluations

The data presented in this section enable us to determine whether students differ systematically by school type and social class in their perceptions of how they are appraised by their counselors and teachers. In the subsequent section we will examine counselors' own evaluations of the students.

Perceived Counselor Evaluations

The data of Table 3.25 were obtained from students' responses to the question, "Has a counselor ever given you the idea that you are not good enough at school work to (a) finish 2 years of college? (b) finish 4 years of college?" The data make it clear that the great majority of students have not had the experience of being negatively evaluated by a counselor. Moreover, with a few exceptions--such as lower working-class boys--the negative evaluations are unrelated to either students' family background or the status level of their school. At all school levels, boys from lower working-class families are slightly more likely than students from other backgrounds to say they have been given the idea they are not good enough to finish 2 years of college.

The indications of school effect are similarly of small magnitude. It is worth mentioning that the proportion of lower working-class students who report having been told they lacked the ability for 4 years of college rises with the status level of the school. In the case of upper-class students, on the other hand, this proportion varies inversely with school status. In both instances, however, the comparisons involve small numbers of students.

Table 3.26 shows how students responded to the question, "Has a counselor ever given you the idea that you are good enough to finish (a) 2 years of college? (b) 4 years of college?" Comparison of the responses recorded in this table with those of Table 3.25 indicate that, judging by students' reports, counselors are far more prone to convey appraisals of students in terms of what they can accomplish rather than in terms of what they cannot accomplish. Much larger proportions of students in all 15 groups say they have been told they have the ability to finish college than report being told they are not good enough to achieve this level of education.

The perceived encouragement of their counselors is positively linked to family social class only for students in the low-status schools. The higher the social class of students in these schools, the greater the percentage reporting that a counselor told them they have the ability to graduate from college.[1]

Some school effect is also manifest in students' reports of counselor encouragement. This is particularly true for boys from upper and lower working-class families. The higher the status level of the school, the greater the percentages of boys in these two social classes who report counselors said they were capable of finishing college. Moreover, the lower the level of their school, the larger the proportion of working-class boys who report they were not told by any counselor that they had the ability for either 2 or 4 years of college. Among upper working-class students, for example, the percentage in question is 45 for those in the low-status schools as compared with 23 percent in the high-status schools. There also is some indication of school differences among upper middle-class students: a larger percentage in the low-status schools than in the other school categories report no evaluation of their ability was given them by their counselors.[2]

A somewhat different perspective on counselors' appraisals of their students is given by the latter's replies to the question, "Do you think your counselor would be surprised if (a) you finished high school? (b) you finished 2 years of college? (c) you finished 4 years of college?" In answering this question students were reporting counselors' evaluations which presumably took account of their motivation as well as their ability. Their responses are given in Table 3.27.

What is striking about the data in this table, in contrast to the data of the preceding table, is first, there is a rather consistent relation in all school categories between the expectations attributed to counselors and students' social-class position, and second, there is virtually no school difference with respect to these expectations.

Perceived Teacher Evaluations

Students were asked virtually the same three questions about their teachers as about the counselors.[3] The responses for the teachers are given in Tables 3.28, 3.29, and 3.30. Since the findings for teachers' evaluations are very similar to those obtained for counselor evaluations they can be summarized briefly.

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[1] The percentages range from 36 for lower working class to 54 for the lower middle and upper middle classes, and 67 percent for the small group of upper-class students in the low-status schools.

[2] That is, they were told neither that they were good enough to finish 2 years of college or 4 years.

[3] The questions about teachers came immediately before the counselor questions. (See Appendix B, Form B, p. 14.)

a. As can be seen in Table 3.28, the great majority of teachers, like counselors, is reported not to have given their students negative evaluations.[1] The negative evaluations which were given are not consistently related to students' background or the status level of their school.

b. Table 3.29 shows that more than half the students have been given some indication by one or more of their teachers that they have the ability for 2 or 4 years of college. The more favorable evaluations (college graduation) vary with family background only among students in the low-status schools, where a larger proportion of these evaluations are reported by boys from the higher social classes.

School differences are most evident among upper working-class boys. The higher the status level of their schools, the greater the proportion of these students who say teachers have told them they are good enough to complete 4 years of college. There is also some indication of school differences in the same direction among upper middle-class boys, but here the difference is between those in the low-status schools and their counterparts in the other school categories.

c. The data of Table 3.30 show how far students think "most of their teachers" anticipate they will go. Teachers' expectations in this regard, like those of counselors, are positively correlated with students' family background and are totally unrelated to the status level of the school.

Counselor Evaluations[2]

The counselors in the eight schools of our study were asked to rate their students on how far they (a) could go in school if adequately motivated, (b) wanted to go, and (c) were likely to go.[3] The ratings given the students are shown in the next three tables.[4]

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[1] That is, as not having given them the idea that they lacked the academic ability to finish 2 or 4 years of college.

[2] The strategic position of high school counselors in the potential determination of students' aspirations and goals is systematically considered--and empirically examined in the context of a single school--by Aaron V. Cicourel and John I. Kitsuse, in The Educational Decision Makers, Bobbs-Merrill Co., New York, 1963. The authors' central concern is with the processes through which counseling and guidance programs of modern high schools have differential consequences for working-class and middle-class students. They do not deal explicitly with the question of whether these consequences vary with the social-class composition of schools.

[3] See Appendix B for a copy of the instructions to counselors.

[4] It should be emphasized that the data of these tables were obtained from the counselors themselves.

Counselors' Evaluations of Students' Ability

Table 3.31 presents counselors' ratings of students' ability. The data reveal a consistent positive association between these ratings and boys' family class position. The higher the family class level, the greater the percentage of boys rated as having the ability to graduate from college and the smaller the proportion evaluated as not having the ability to complete 2 years of college.

Although this correlation reflects the association between boys' grades and their family class level,[1] this cannot account for the effect of school status on counselors' ratings.[2] The school effect observed for this variable is the most pronounced in this analysis. Within each social class, the higher the status of the schools the larger the percentage of boys rated as having the ability to complete 4 years of college.[3] For example, 55 percent of the upper working-class students in the high-status schools are so rated compared with 39 and 25 percent in the intermediate- and low-status schools.

Evaluation of How Far Boys Want to Go in School

Counselors' ratings of how far their students want to go in school are shown in Table 3.32. As expected from the finding for ability ratings, the ratings of students' goals are positively correlated with their family background. Similarly, these ratings show evidence of a school effect. The school effect differs somewhat, however, from that observed for counselors' ability ratings. In the case of the ability ratings there tend to be differences between each of the three school categories, whereas in the ratings of boys' goals the differences tend to be sharper between the low-status schools and the other two school categories.

Counselors' Predictions of Students' Level of Attainment

Table 3.33 shows how far the counselors think their students will actually go in school. Like the other evaluations, counselors' predictions of students' level of educational attainment are associated both with family social class and type of school. The joint effect of the two variables is impressive: 4 or more years of college is predicted for only 8 percent of the lower working class boys in the low-status schools, whereas it is predicted for fully 75 percent of the upper-class students in the high-status schools.

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[1] See Table 3.48.

[2] Nor can school effect be attributed to school differences in grade distribution since, as can be seen in Table 3.48, grades do not vary systematically with school status.

[3] Upper middle-class students in the intermediate-status schools are the one exception to the pattern.

It can be observed that the range of school differences is smaller for counselors' predictions than for their ratings of students' ability and goals. Nonetheless, counselors in higher status schools tend to predict higher levels of attainment for all students but those from upper middle-class families. Counselors are most optimistic about the educational prospects of upper middle-class boys in intermediate-status schools, but see little difference between the prospects of those in the low- and high-status schools.

An interesting finding emerges from the comparison of counselors' evaluations of students' ability, goal, and probably, level of educational attainment. Looking first at the two latter variables (comparing Tables 3.32 and 3.33), we note that in all 15 groups a larger percentage of students is rated as wanting 4 years of college than have this achievement predicted for them. But the magnitude of this discrepancy is not generally related to either students' class background or to the status level of their schools. There is some indication that the proportion of lower middle and upper middle-class boys destined to disappointment is greater in the intermediate- and high-status schools than in the low-status schools.

More important is a comparison of the ratings of students' ability and the level of educational achievement predicted for them. In all 15 groups--as was the case with their goals--the percentage of students rated as having the ability to complete 4 years of college is greater than the percentage counselors predict will attain this level. What is interesting about this discrepancy is the pattern of its relation to both family social class and school status seen in Table 3.34.

In the low-status schools the difference between the percentage of students rated as able to complete college and the percentage for whom this level of actual attainment is predicted is roughly of the same order for boys of all classes. In the intermediate- and high-status schools, however, the percentage difference between ability and predicted achievement tends to vary inversely with family social class. This may signify that in the predominantly middle class schools, the lower the students' social class, the less likely the achievement counselors predict for them will match counselors' ratings of their ability. This is consistent, of course, with the differential probability of working- and middle-class students receiving an education commensurate with their ability. Why this is not observed in low-status schools is not clear.

Particularly intriguing is what the data of Table 3.34 reveal about the effect of school status, namely, that with family background held constant, there is a greater discrepancy in the higher than in the lower status schools between the ability imputed to students and the achievement anticipated for them. Although this negative school effect tends to hold for students in all social classes, it is more evident for those from lower middle and working class families. Judging by counselors' statements, the probability that boys with the ability to graduate from college actually will do so is smaller in the high-status schools than in the low-status schools. In effect, this suggests that, from the perspective of counselors, the social-class composition of schools has a negative rather than a positive effect on boys' chances of finishing college.

Students' Attitudes to School

Students were asked a series of questions to measure the favorability of their attitude to their teachers; how much they liked school and the extent of their conformity to official school norms. The next three tables show the relation of scores[1] derived from these questions to students' social class and school type.

Attitudes to Teachers[2]

The scores shown in Table 3.35 are indicative of the extent to which students felt their teachers liked them, treated them fairly, and understood their feelings. Contrary to the generally held view, we find that children from lower-class families report no less favorable attitudes to their teachers than do those from families in the higher strata. Nor is there any evidence for the assumption that teachers would tend to be viewed more favorably by students in the higher status schools. In fact, there are indications that in the high-status schools teachers are likely to be evaluated more negatively than in the low-status schools: in all social classes a smaller proportion of the latter than of the former have the lowest scale scores. Moreover, except for those in the lower working class, larger percentages of boys in the low-status schools than in the high-status schools have the highest scores.

Liking for School

Boys' scores on the "liking for school" scale are presented in Table 3.36. Based on questions such as, "Do you ever feel you hate school?" these scores are assumed to measure the net valence of students' feelings for school.[3]

As with attitudes to teachers, it might be supposed that liking for school would vary positively with family social class.[4] This supposition is borne out by the data, but the social-class differences are small and are seen only in the low- and intermediate-status schools.

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[1] See Appendix A for a description of the scales.

[2] The items comprising this scale could serve as a measure of how favorably students regard their teachers or as a measure of students' perceptions of how favorably they are regarded by their teachers.

[3] That is, the extent to which they are disposed to approach or withdraw from the school situation as a consequence of the interplay of the variables which impinge on them in the school setting. These variables would include enjoyment of association with peers, satisfactions obtained from academic activity, and relationships with teachers.

[4] Evidence supporting this assumption is reported in a study of eighth graders, Paul Wallin and Leslie C. Waldo, Social Class Background of Eighth Grade Pupils, Social Class Composition of Their Schools, Their Academic Aspirations and School Adjustment, U.S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 1935, Stanford University, 1964, p. 147.

Differences by school status level among students from the same social class are also small. There are no school differences among upper working-class students. The few lower working-class boys in the high-status schools indicate a greater liking for school than their peers in the schools of lower status. Interestingly, at the other extreme, upper-class students in low-status schools appear to have a more positive attitude to school than students of the same background in the higher status schools. Being very much of a social-class minority apparently does not prejudice students' chances of liking school. Middle-class students (both lower and upper) are also minorities in the low-status schools. And they too register a more favorable attitude to school than their counterparts in the schools of intermediate and high status.

Conformity to School Norms

Student scores on the measure of their conformity to official school norms are shown in Table 3.37. The scores represent how often they had (a) cut school, (b) been sent out of class for disciplinary reasons, and (c) been suspended from school during the year the questionnaires were administered. We expected that students' conformity to school norms would be positively associated with their social-class position. But this was so only for students in low- and high-status schools, and within these school groups, the social-class differences were minor.

Turning to school differences, we find, within each of the five social classes, a larger percentage of students in the low-status schools than in the other two school types having the highest score on the conformity scale. However, a greater percentage of lower working-class students in the low-status schools than in the intermediate- and high-status schools have the lowest scale scores.

Self-Esteem and Value Orientation

This section presents data on some additional variables which might affect students' educational goals. The variables[1] considered here are (a) self-esteem, (b) non-utilitarian orientation to education and occupation, (c) favorability of attitude to planning, (d) belief that effort is rewarded, and (e) trust in people. As in the preceding sections, we will examine the data both for evidence of school effects and family influence.

Self-Esteem

The distribution of self-esteem scores by family social class and school type is shown in Table 3.38. A positive correlation between social class and high self-esteem can be observed in low-, intermediate-, and high-status schools.[1] There is, however, no consistent indication of an association between the status level of their schools and students' self-esteem scores. Attention is called to one finding (which might be due to chance): the relatively few upper-class boys in the low-status schools are less likely to have the lowest self-esteem scores--and more likely to have the highest scores--than upper class boys in the intermediate- and high- status schools. This suggests that the self-esteem of the upper class boy may be enhanced in a low-status school.

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[1] Each of the variables was measured by responses to a number of questions which were converted into numerical scores, as described in Appendix A.

Non-Utilitarian Orientation to Education and Occupation

The scores which rank students on this variable are presumed to be indicative of the extent to which they value education and occupation for non-monetary reasons. It might be thought that this orientation would be more likely to characterize students from families in the higher strata than those from the lower classes. It also might be assumed that students in the high-status schools would be exposed to this view of education and occupation more often than those in the low-status schools. The data of Table 3.39 provide a small measure of support for both assumptions.

The positive association between family background and the non-utilitarian orientation is sharpest and most consistent for boys in the low-status schools. More than half the lower working-class students in these schools as compared with approximately a fourth of upper middle and upper class boys have the low scores. The correlation between social class and students' non-utilitarian orientation toward education is also found in the intermediate- and high-status schools, but is less marked. Boys from the higher strata families are more likely to score high, rather than intermediate or low on the scale.

A school effect is clearly apparent only for the lower and upper working-class boys: the higher the status level of their school, the less likely they are to score low on the scale, and the more likely they are to have the intermediate or high scores.

Favorability of Attitude to Planning

This variable--and the variables, "Belief that Effort is Rewarded" and "Trust in People" which are discussed subsequently--can be subsumed under the concept of "sense of control of the environment" to which the Coleman Report[2] attaches so much significance. We already have touched on this concept in our discussion of conditions which can influence individuals' evaluations of the feasibility of achieving their aspirations.[1] It is a plausible assumption that the more skeptical young people are about the worth of planning for the future, or of trying hard to get ahead, and the less trust they have in people, the less likely they will be to commit themselves to a distant, and relatively costly, goal. If the validity of this assumption be granted, it becomes important for the understanding of goal-setting to determine the sources of these attitudes.

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[1] A positive correlation between self-esteem and the social class of high school juniors and seniors also is reported in Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965.

[2] *Op. cit.*

The data of Table 3.40 show that the great majority of the students expressed a favorable attitude to planning.[2] We find, nevertheless, that the higher their social-class position the greater the proportion of boys having high scores.[3] This, however, is true only of those in the low- and intermediate-status schools. There is no correlation in the high-status schools as a result, in part, of the relatively high percentages of lower and upper working-class boys who fall in the high score category.

School differences are found among students in the two working-class groups and in the lower middle class. The differences are between those in the low-status schools and those in the high-status schools. Although not large, they suggest that experiences in the high-status schools may have a slight favorable effect on their attitude to planning.[4]

Belief That Effort is Rewarded

We fully expected that boys' scores on this variable would have essentially the same pattern of association with family social class and school type as was found for boys' attitude to planning.[5] The data of Table 3.41 fail to confirm our expectation.

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[1] See Chapter 1. See, too, Chapter 4 for a more extensive discussion of the concept which we have designated "sense of control of the future."

[2] In all but two of the 15 groups, two-thirds or more fall in the high score category. Our measure may have been at fault in not detecting a greater degree of variation in the attitude. See Appendix A for the items comprising the measure.

[3] The Coleman Report found a consistent relation between "the child's sense of control of the environment and the economic level of the home," (op. cit., p. 324.)

[4] The Coleman Report states that "if family background characteristics are controlled, almost none of the remaining variance in . . . control of environment is accounted for by the school factors measured in this survey." (op. cit., p. 323.) The method used in the Coleman Report for determining the unique effect of school and family characteristics has been subject to compelling criticism. (See Bowles and Levin, op. cit.)

[5] This was expected both because scores on the two variables are correlated (data not presented) and because conceptually they appear to fall in the same domain.

Attitude to planning is positively correlated with social class in low- and intermediate-status schools. Belief that effort is rewarded, however, is positively associated with social class in the intermediate- and high-status schools and slightly negatively associated with social class in the low-status schools.[1]

School differences were observed for attitude to planning in the two working classes and in the lower middle class. The differences were relatively small but gave some indication that the higher the status level of the school the more likely boys in the three lower classes were to have a favorable attitude to planning. Small school differences in these classes are also found for belief in the worth of effort. Here, however, it is the boys in the low-status schools--as compared with those in the other school types--who are more likely to score high.[2]

Trust in People

With minor deviations,[3] boys' scores on the extent to which they believe people can be trusted are positively related to their families' social class position, the higher their family social class, the higher their scores. But, as can be seen in Table 3.42, there is no evidence of any consistent association between school type and our measure of the variable "trust in people."

Students' Goals and Their Immediate Determinants

We now have examined a large number of variables for their association with students' family class position and the status levels of schools. Family influence was much in evidence, whereas a generally small school effect was observed for only a fraction of the variables. Counselors' ratings of their students' ability, educational goals and final level of educational attainment provided the most striking indication of school differences.

Let it be assumed that there is some manifestation of school differences in variables which could influence the immediate determinants of educational goals and, in turn, the goals students set themselves. But for our analysis of boys' educational goals, the crucial question becomes whether there is evidence of a school effect on these determinants themselves and the resultant goals. This section evaluates the evidence bearing on this question.

Data are presented first on what we regard as the immediate determinants of goals: students' occupational aspirations, their educational aspirations, their evaluation of their academic ability, and their perception of the economic feasibility of a higher education. Then--most important of all--we examine the evidence on students' goals.

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[1] The correlations referred to here can be seen in the highest scale scores.

[2] An explanation of the anomalous findings for the two variables discussed here awaits further analysis of the data.

[3] In cells involving few cases.

Boys' Occupational Aspirations

Schools could affect students' educational aspirations by influencing their conceptions of the kinds of occupations they would like to enter.[1] For example, working-class boys in higher status schools might be more likely than those in low-status schools to prefer occupations requiring a college education. This could follow from the supposedly greater possibility in the higher status schools of learning about the various potential rewards associated with high ranking occupations.

A somewhat indirect indicator was used to test the assumption of school effect on occupational aspirations. Students were given a list of occupations ranging from the professions (doctor, lawyer) to unskilled worker (janitor). They were asked to rate each occupation according to whether they would be "very satisfied," "pretty satisfied," or "not satisfied" to make a living that way.[2] The occupations were ranked from 1 (highest) to 7 (lowest),[3] and each student was assigned the ranking of the lowest occupation he rated as "very satisfactory." Our measure, consequently, describes the lower limit of students' occupational aspirations. Table 3.43 shows the distribution of this aspiration among students grouped by family social class and the status level of their schools.

Again we observe the influence of family background. Students from the higher social classes are much more likely[4] to prefer the highest-ranking occupations (1,2) and considerably less likely than students from working-class families to rate the blue collar occupations (5, 6, 7) "very satisfactory."

The data of Table 3.43 offer no evidence of school effect among lower- or upper working-class students. There is, however, some indication of school effect for lower middle- and upper middle-class students. The former are more likely to prefer the middle and lower level white collar occupations (3, 4) if they are in the high-status schools.[5] Conversely, the lower-middle class students are less likely to prefer the blue collar occupations if they are in a high-status school.[1] For upper middle-class students, the greatest school difference is between those in the low-status and those in the other categories with a larger percentage of the former rating the blue collar occupations (5, 6, 7) "very satisfactory." A marked school effect can be observed for upper-class students: those in the intermediate- and high-status schools are more likely than those in the low-status schools to rate the top ranking occupations most favorably. But once more it must be noted that the small number of upper-class students in the low-status schools makes uncertain any finding involving this group.

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[1] It will be recalled that our theoretical analysis in Chapter 1 posited that aspirations are a necessary condition of goals. Unless a goal is desired, most individuals will not commit themselves to its attainment--regardless of their estimate of the feasibility of doing so.

[2] See Appendix B, Form B, for the form used to obtain these ratings.

[3] Following Hollingshead's classification (op. cit.)

[4] The one reversal of the trend is found for the small group of upper-class students in the low-status schools.

[5] Twenty-seven percent compared with 16 and 14 percent in the intermediate- and low-status schools, respectively.

Boys' Educational Aspirations

Our initial evidence on educational aspirations is students' responses to the questions, "If there were nothing to stop you, how far would you really want to go in school?" We then consider their responses to this question combined with four others--constituting a scale--intended to get at how strongly they wanted to go to college.[2] The five questions form what we call the boys' educational aspirations scores.

As anticipated, we see in Table 3.44 a large, consistent association in all three school types between boys' family class position and their reports of how far they would like to go in school. The higher the class position the higher the educational aspiration.

When we compare the aspirations of boys of the same social class in schools of differing status, we find little indication of school effect. The percentage of students within each social stratum who aspire to junior college or less is virtually identical for the three school categories.[3] Similarly, the proportion of students from the same social class who say they would like to finish 4 years of college, do not vary consistently by school status. There is no trend at all among lower middle- and upper middle-class students. The one group for which the data suggest a school effect is upper-class students. In this class, we find the largest difference by school (20 percent).[4] Consequently--except perhaps for upper-class boys--the data can be said to provide little support for the assumption of a school effect on educational aspirations, at least as measured by students' responses to the single question of how far they would like to go in school.

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[1] Thirty-one percent compared with 44 and 46 percent in the other two school categories.

[2] See Appendix A for the questions and the details of the scale.

[3] For example, it is 42, 44, 42 percent for upper working-class students in the low-, intermediate- and high-status schools, respectively.

[4] Seventy percent of those in the high-status schools aspire to more than 4 years of college compared with 63 percent of those in the intermediate-status schools and 50 percent in the low-status schools. There are, however, only 18 boys in the latter school category.

Table 3.45 shows the relation of family background and school status to boys' aspiration scores.[1] Because they are based on a set of items descriptive of how strongly students would like to go to college in combination with the item just considered, we believe these scores are a better measure of educational aspirations than any of the single-item measures used in past research.

The aspiration scores show the expected positive association with family social-class position. Although they offer more indication of school effect than the single aspiration question, the school differences are still quite small. The largest and most consistent differences occur among upper-class boys.[2] Parallel differences are found for the upper middle-class boys in the proportions having the highest scores.[3] Lower middle-class students have almost identical scores in the three school categories. Upper working-class students in the high-status schools are more likely by 7 percent than those in the low-status schools to have the highest scores. Boys in the intermediate schools are the least likely to have these scores. Lower working-class students in the low- and intermediate-status schools are more likely than the few in the high-status schools to have the highest aspiration scores.

Students' Perception of the Feasibility of Achieving a College Education

Students who do not aspire to a college education will not be concerned with assessing the feasibility of attaining it. The likelihood of those who do value a higher education making it their goal depends on their judgment of the probability of being able to achieve it.[4] This judgment is made primarily in two dimensions: academic and economic. Evidence of family and school influence on these dimensions is examined below.

Academic feasibility

It is hardly necessary to advance a rationale for the assumption that family social class will exert great influence on students' assessments of their academic ability. Whether the status level of the high schools they attend can effect a change in students' estimates of their scholastic ability is far less certain.[1] Paradoxically, it can be hypothesized that students in higher status schools tend to evaluate their ability less favorably than those of the same social class in lower status schools.[2] This follows from the supposition that (a) students judge their ability by comparing themselves with the students in their own schools, and (b) the higher the status of a school, the abler the student body and the more intense the competitive processes which help determine the individual students' view of his academic worth.

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[1] See Appendix A for the basis of these scores.

[2] The percentages having the highest aspiration scores are 40, 49, and 57 in the low-, intermediate- and high-status schools, respectively. The 40 percent, however, is based on the total of 15 boys in the low-status schools.

[3] The percentages are 34, 36, and 40.

[4] See Chapter 1 for discussion of the interaction between aspirations and the perceived feasibility of realizing them.

Students' evaluation of the academic feasibility of their completing college was measured by their response to a single question and by scale scores based on a set of four questions.[3] The former was phrased as follows: By now you have a pretty good idea of how good you are at school work. Keeping this in mind, how far do you think you could go in school if you really wanted to? This item was followed by a set of scale questions asking students how hard or easy it would be for them "if you tried your best"--to finish levels of education ranging from junior college to more than 4 years of college.

Table 3.46 presents students' responses to the single item. They are, as anticipated, substantially correlated in all three school categories with family social class: the higher the class, the greater tends to be the percentage of students who say they could finish more than 4 years of college and the smaller the percentage assessing their ability at the level of junior college or lower.

In contrast to the marked influence of family background, little school effect is apparent in the data. Upper working-class students appraise their ability almost identically in the low-, intermediate-, and high-status schools. A larger percentage of lower middle- and upper middle-class boys in the low-status schools than in the high-status schools rate themselves as having the ability for more than 4 years of college.[4] Upper-class boys in the low-status schools are less likely than those in the intermediate- and high-status schools to rate their ability highly. This difference runs counter to the hypothesis, but it may be due to chance. Finally, the few lower working-class boys in the high-status schools are less likely than those in the other school categories to describe themselves as capable of more than 4 years of college.

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[1] For a perceptive discussion and empirical investigation of how schools, by their presumed effect on students' evaluation of their ability, can influence the expressed intention of high school seniors to go to college, see John W. Meyer, "High School Effects on College Intentions," Research and Development Memorandum No. 62, 1970, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford.

[2] The basis of this hypothesis is elaborated by Meyer, ibid.

[3] See Appendix A for a description of the scale.

[4] While this is consistent with the hypothesis of inverse school effect, the differences are small and could be due to chance.

We will now consider the evidence yielded by scale scores derived from responses to four questions asking students how easy or hard it would be for them to attain various levels of education. Scale scores on boys' estimates of their academic ability are presented in Table 3.47. We note that except for a few minor exceptions, there is a positive association in all three school categories between social class and scale scores: the higher the social class of their family the greater the proportion of boys with high ability scale scores and the smaller the percentage with low scores.

Unlike the single-item indicator, scale scores do provide evidence for the school-effect hypothesis that students in the higher status schools would be led to see themselves as having less ability than students of the same family background from lower status schools. The hypothesis is clearly supported in the case of boys from upper working- and lower middle-class families: those in the high-status schools are more likely to have low ability scores than their counterparts in the low-status schools.

The hypothesized relation between the status level of their school and students' estimates of their ability also obtains support from the data for students from lower working- and upper-class families. A larger proportion (by about 20 percent) of the lower working-class students in the high-status schools than of those in the intermediate- and low-status schools have low estimates of their ability.

The differences between upper-class boys in the intermediate- and high-status schools are also compatible with the hypothesis. Those in the intermediate-status schools are more likely than those in the high-status schools to have high ability scores, and less likely to have the intermediate scores. On the other hand, the estimates of their ability by the few upper-class students in the low-status schools tend to run counter to the hypothesis: the percentage having low scores is greater than the percentage of the same social stratum who are in the intermediate- and high-status schools. In all then, it can be said that the scale data support the assumption that higher status schools depress students' evaluation of their academic ability, but that the effect is not uniform for boys from the different social classes.

Parenthetically, it might be noted that the influence of the status level of schools and students' judgment of their ability is not a function of school differences in the assignment of grades. This can be seen in Table 3.48 which shows the average grades of students in solid subjects in the semester preceding the collection of our questionnaire data. The The grades are correlated with students' family class position--as they were with students' estimates of their ability--but they do not vary in any consistent manner with the status level of the schools they are attending.

Perceived economic feasibility of higher education

The major determinant of students' conception of how much education they can afford is undoubtedly their families' economic status. Some ambitious families of modest or very little means may assure their children that they are willing to make any sacrifice necessary to help finance their college education. But, in most instances, students' judgments of how far they can afford to go in their schooling probably reflect their families' economic resources and a knowledge of the competing demands on these resources. It, therefore, could be assumed that the higher their families' economic status, the greater the likelihood that students would think of themselves as being able to afford a higher education.

More problematic is whether the status level of the school they are attending can influence students' judgments of how much education they can afford. One characteristic in which schools probably differ by status level could produce such an effect. This is the amount of information schools make available to students about (a) the cost of higher education in state or private colleges and universities and, more importantly, (b) the possibility of financing all or part of a higher education through scholarships, state or federal loans, part-time campus jobs, etc. If it is a valid assumption that both types of information are more widely distributed in the higher than in the lower status schools, students in the higher status schools could be expected to be more optimistic regarding the economic feasibility of securing a college education.

Table 3.49 presents students' scores on an "economic feasibility" scale[1] based on their responses to four questions asking how sure they were that with family help they could afford various levels of education ranging from junior college to a major private university. The data show the association between these scale scores and students' family social-class position and level of their schools. As expected, we find that students' judgments of how much education they can afford are, substantially, positively correlated with their family status. The higher the family social-class position, the greater the percentage of boys with high feasibility scores and the smaller the percentage with low scores. This holds for students in the low-, intermediate- and high-status schools.

School differences in scores on the economic feasibility scale are larger and more consistent than those found for the other immediate determinants of students' goals. Within each of the five social classes, a greater percentage of boys in the high-status schools than in the low-status schools have the highest feasibility scores and a smaller proportion have the lowest scores. Students in the intermediate-status schools tend to fall between those in the other two school categories in the proportions having the high and low scores.

Students' educational goals and expected level of attainment

Students' goals are the major dependent variable of our study: we therefore, now confront the most important data of the chapter. Insofar as goals result from the interaction of educational aspirations and the perceived academic and economic feasibility of realizing them, the preceding analysis of the data on these variables warrants the prediction that goals would be substantially correlated with students' family-class position, but not appreciably associated with the status level of their schools. The data of Table 3.50 bear out the prediction.

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[1] See Appendix A for the details of the scale.

Boys' goals vary positively with their family position: the higher the social class of the family, the greater the percentage of students having the highest goals, and the smaller the proportion having the lowest goals. With a few minor deviations, this pattern is observed in each of the three school groupings.

For evidence of an independent school effect we look first at the three social classes--the upper working, lower middle, and upper middle--with relatively large numbers of students in all three status levels of schools. School differences among upper working-class boys are slight.[1] Lower middle-class boys manifest no school difference, but among upper middle-class boys there is a school difference: those in the high- and intermediate-status schools are more likely than those in the low-status schools to have the highest goal scores.[2]

We turn now to the small number of upper-class boys in the low-status schools, and to the lower working-class group, with its relatively small numbers in intermediate-status schools and in high-status schools. It is among the upper-class boys that the most consistent school effect is found.[3] Boys of the lower working class do not fare well in the high-status schools: none of them have the highest goal scores. They are, however, more likely (by 25 percent) than those in the other two school categories to have intermediate goal scores and less likely to have the low scores. Finally, it should be noted that 6 percent more of the working-class boys in the intermediate-status schools than of those in the low-status schools have the high goal scores.

In summary, the data on boys' educational goals provide little consistent support for the hypothesis of school effect on working-class and lower middle-class students. The data are more consistent with the assumption of school influence in the two higher classes. There is a question, however, whether the large difference between upper-class boys in low- and high-status schools is reliable. Apart from this difference, the magnitude of school influence evident in the upper classes is relatively small.[4]

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[1] Six percent more of them in the high-status schools than in the low-status schools, have the highest goals.

[2] The difference between the high- and low-status schools, however, is only 7 percent. It is the boys in the intermediate-status schools who differ most (by 14 percent) from those in the low-status schools.

[3] The percentages in the high-, intermediate-, and low-status schools having the highest goals are 64, 41, and 39.

[4] Table 3.51 presents students' answers to the question of whether they would be surprised if they finished high school, 2 years of college, or 4 years of college. This question, responses to which we assume indicate whether students expect to graduate from college, was included in the questionnaire as an alternate measure of boys' educational goal. The goal questions were placed at the beginning of the second questionnaire,

(footnote continued on next page)

Summary

This chapter has examined the relative influence of school type and family social class on boys' educational goals and many related variables. The mass of data precludes citation of the individual findings. There can be little doubt, however, that family influences outweigh by far the effect of school type. We do find some marked positive relationships between school status and some variables which themselves are associated with boys' goals.[1] On the other hand, we find evidence of an inverse relationship between school status and an important determinant of goals--namely boys' evaluation of their academic ability.[2] These inconsistencies, in the end, may explain why we do not find a firm, consistent pattern of association between school type and boys' goals.[3]

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4 (continued)

and the item discussed here appears toward the end of the questionnaire. The data of Table 3.51 do not add to our confidence in the findings obtained for school effect on boys' goals. The data do show a very marked relation between students' social class and their expectation that they will graduate from college. This correlation appears in all three school categories. School differences, however, are very small. Significantly, in the upper middle- and upper-class groups the school effect on expected level of education is the opposite of what it appears to be for students' goals. That is, the higher the status level of the schools, the smaller the proportion of boys who report they expect to graduate from college. In view of these findings, the evidence of an independent school effect on educational goals must be regarded as uncertain.

[1] Most notably, counselors' evaluations of boys' academic ability and their predictions of how far the boys will go in school. A smaller, but consistent, positive association is also found between school type and students' perception of the economic feasibility of their obtaining a higher education. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the relationship between these variables and boys' goals.

[2] This evaluation directly affects boys' perception of the academic feasibility of their completing college and, in turn, influences the goal level students set themselves. (See Chapter 4.)

[3] A key factor here may be the absence of a consistent school effect on parents' goals for their sons: this is a critical variable which is clearly a product of social-class position. An earlier study by Wallin and Waldo (op. cit.) found that at all social-class levels, parents of eighth graders in middle-class schools were more likely to have high goals for their children than those whose children were in working-class schools. When parents' goals were controlled, the observed goal differences between students in middle- and working-class schools were eliminated.

Past studies show apparent school effects.[1] The validity of their conclusions is still under debate.[2] The findings of the present study, therefore, add fuel to the controversy.

Largely because of the many procedural differences between investigations of school effects, it is virtually impossible to interpret the divergence between our findings and those of other studies.[3] None of the past studies is entirely comparable with ours. First, some of them do not deal directly with school influences on educational goals.[4] Some studied school (or neighborhood) effects on high school seniors' intention to attend college--but spelled out neither the firmness of the intention nor the level of college education planned by the students (e.g., junior college, 4 years of college, etc.). Other research has combined students from a number of high school grades, with the implicit assumption that grade level can be ignored in studying school effects. And most studies have used single questions--sometimes imprecisely worded--to measure the crucial dependent variable. Finally studies have varied in the number of schools investigated, in their regional location, and in the size of communities in which the students lived.

It should be emphasized that we are not suggesting that school social-class composition has no influence on students. We believe schools do reinforce family influence and values. But they do not change boys' educational goals. Boys having high goals (whether in the working- or middle-class schools) are likely to have them sustained by their school experience. But low goals are not likely to be changed by the type of school boys attend. However, high schools do probably differ in the quality and degree of college preparation they impart to their students. (Middle-class schools undoubtedly rank higher in this regard than do working-class schools.) In the absence of other information, colleges or universities may assume that students from a "better" school will be more "qualified" than those with similar credentials from predominantly lower-class schools.[1]

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[1] See, for example, Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959, pp. 836-845; Natalie Rogoff, op. cit.; Richard P. Boyle, "The Effect of the High School on Students' Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, May, 1966, pp. 628-639; John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 24, 1961, pp. 585-595; William H. Sewell and J. Michael Armer, "Neighborhood Context and College Plans," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, April, 1966, pp. 159-168; and John W. Meyer, op. cit.

[2] See the exchange of views between Ralph H. Turner, John A. Michael, Richard P. Boyle, William H. Sewell, and J. Michael Armer in "On Neighborhood Context and College Plans," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, October, 1966, pp. 698-712. See, too, the critique of the findings of the Coleman Report (op. cit.) and see Bowles and Levin, op. cit.

[3] As well as differences among these other studies themselves.

[4] One for example studied the effect of school social class on students' achievement in mathematics (Edward L. McDill, Edmund D. Meyers, and Leo C. Rigsby, "Institutional Effects on the Academic Behavior of High School Students," Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, Summer, 1967, pp. 181-199). The Coleman Report, similarly directed most attention to the impact of schools on achievement test scores (Coleman, op. cit.). Although these are correlated with educational goals, they cannot be safely used as an indicator of them: schools could influence achievement test scores, but still not influence goals (if, for example, aspirations or economic feasibility estimates are low.)

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[1] For a good presentation of this kind of argument at the college level, see John Meyer, "The Charter: Conditions of Diffuse Socialization in Schools," (unpublished paper, Stanford University, Stanford, October 1968).

TABLE 3.1

SOCIAL-CLASS COMPOSITION OF STUDENT BODY IN EIGHT SCHOOLS COMPRISING THE LOW-, INTERMEDIATE-, AND HIGH-STATUS SCHOOLS

		Family Social Class					Total	
School Type	Individual Schools	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper	%	No.
Low	1	39%	40%	15%	6%	---	100	80
	2	27%	39%	23%	7%	4%	100	155
	3	15%	43%	30%	9%	2%	99	169
	4	11%	46%	32%	8%	3%	100	246
Inter-mediate	5	2%	33%	38%	21%	6%	100	256
	6	10%	31%	25%	21%	12%	99	229
High	7	5%	20%	34%	30%	11%	100	222
	8	1%	17%	30%	28%	23%	99	269

TABLE 3.2

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING MOTHERS HAVE A LOT, SOME, OR LESS INTEREST IN THEIR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Mother's Interest		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	A lot		70%	73%	87%	89%	88%
	Some		23%	19%	8%	9%	12%
	Less		8%	7%	5%	2%	0%
	Total	%	101	99	100	100	100
		No.	115	243	155	46	17
Inter- mediate	A lot		69%	71%	76%	86%	84%
	Some		23%	24%	18%	9%	16%
	Less		8%	5%	5%	4%	0%
	Total	%	100	100	99	99	100
		No.	26	146	146	98	43
High	A lot		82%	75%	81%	88%	83%
	Some		0%	15%	13%	9%	15%
	Less		18%	10%	5%	4%	2%
	Total	%	100	100	99	101	100
		No.	11	88	149	137	86

TABLE 3.3

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING FATHERS HAVE A LOT, SOME, OR LESS INTEREST IN THEIR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Father's Interest		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	A lot		69%	67%	70%	69%	100%
	Some		18%	23%	23%	11%	0%
	Less		13%	10%	7%	19%	0%
	Total	%	100	100	100	99	100
		No.	97	216	159	36	18
Inter-mediate	A lot		56%	62%	68%	82%	84%
	Some		39%	26%	23%	17%	14%
	Less		6%	13%	10%	1%	2%
	Total	%	101	101	101	100	100
		No.	18	128	136	90	43
High	A lot		55%	63%	72%	86%	85%
	Some		27%	27%	19%	13%	9%
	Less		18%	10%	9%	1%	6%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	11	71	139	128	85

TABLE 3.4

PERCENTAGES OF MOTHERS WHO HAVE SAID IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THEIR SONS TO GO TO COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Said College Important	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Many times	58%	63%	78%	78%	65%
	A few times	30%	29%	17%	20%	18%
	Less	12%	9%	5%	2%	18%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	101
	No.	114	243	155	46	17
Inter-mediate	Many times	58%	67%	70%	78%	84%
	A few times	27%	25%	20%	19%	16%
	Less	15%	8%	10%	3%	0%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	26	146	145	98	43
High	Many times	64%	70%	75%	80%	81%
	A few times	27%	24%	21%	15%	16%
	Less	9%	6%	4%	6%	2%
	Total %	100	100	100	101	99
	No.	11	87	149	137	86

TABLE 3.5

PERCENTAGES OF FATHERS WHO HAVE SAID IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THEIR SONS TO GO TO COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Said College Important	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Many times	46%	54%	67%	78%	89%
	A few times	32%	30%	24%	14%	0%
	Less	21%	15%	9%	8%	11%
	Total %	99	99	100	100	100
	No.	99	224	159	37	18
Intermediate	Many times	55%	55%	65%	79%	79%
	A few times	35%	34%	22%	20%	16%
	Less	10%	11%	12%	1%	5%
	Total %	100	100	99	100	100
	No.	20	128	138	91	43
High	Many times	73%	54%	67%	80%	83%
	A few times	18%	41%	23%	16%	13%
	Less	9%	6%	10%	5%	5%
	Total %	100	101	100	101	101
	No.	11	71	141	129	88

TABLE 3.6

BOYS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEIR MOTHERS THINK THEY CAN FINISH COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Can Finish College		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Yes		57%	68%	83%	80%	100%
	No		43%	32%	17%	20%	0%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	88	210	139	41	15
Inter- mediate	Yes		62%	67%	83%	86%	100%
	No		38%	33%	17%	14%	0%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	24	127	125	87	39
High	Yes		63%	69%	86%	91%	91%
	No		37%	31%	14%	9%	9%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	8	77	133	126	81

TABLE 3.7

BOYS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEIR FATHERS THINK THEY CAN FINISH COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Can Finish College		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Yes		53%	66%	76%	93%	94%
	No		47%	34%	24%	7%	6%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	75	170	140	30	16
Intermediate	Yes		50%	71%	78%	93%	98%
	No		50%	29%	22%	7%	2%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	16	110	121	80	40
High	Yes		78%	72%	81%	88%	89%
	No		22%	28%	19%	12%	11%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	9	54	129	120	82

TABLE 3.8

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR THEIR MOTHERS WANT THEM TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Mother Wants		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	More than 4 yrs. c.		22%	23%	35%	39%	54%
	Four yrs. college		31%	37%	43%	49%	38%
	Less		47%	39%	22%	12%	8%
	Total	%	100	99	100	100	100
		No.	106	212	141	41	13
Intermediate	More than 4 yrs. c.		14%	13%	34%	41%	57%
	Four yrs. college		48%	47%	40%	51%	41%
	Less		38%	40%	26%	8%	3%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	101
		No.	21	129	129	87	37
High	More than 4 yrs. c.		0%	19%	35%	35%	56%
	Four yrs. college		55%	36%	45%	56%	41%
	Less		45%	45%	20%	10%	4%
	Total	%	100	100	100	101	101
		No.	11	78	132	124	81

TABLE 3.9

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WHO REPORT MOTHERS AS HAVING TWO HIGHEST, INTERMEDIATE, AND TWO LOWEST GOAL SCORES, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Mother's Goal Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Highest (4,5)	27%	34%	55%	56%	69%
	(3)	14%	16%	17%	29%	23%
	Lowest (1,2)	59%	50%	28%	15%	8%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	102	208	138	41	13
Inter-mediate	Highest (4,5)	14%	28%	46%	63%	70%
	(3)	33%	21%	18%	22%	16%
	Lowest (1,2)	52%	51%	36%	15%	14%
	Total %	99	100	100	100	100
	No.	21	126	125	87	37
High	Highest (4,5)	27%	21%	52%	54%	74%
	(3)	18%	26%	21%	31%	14%
	Lowest (1,2)	55%	53%	27%	15%	12%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	11	72	128	124	80

TABLE 3.10

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR THEIR FATHERS WANT THEM TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Father Wants	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	More than 4 yrs. c.	19%	23%	29%	40%	56%
	Four yrs. college	22%	36%	45%	47%	38%
	Less	59%	42%	26%	13%	6%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	100
	No.	80	182	138	30	16
Inter-mediate	More than 4 yrs. c.	15%	16%	33%	31%	65%
	Four yrs. college	46%	48%	45%	64%	30%
	Less	38%	36%	22%	5%	5%
	Total %	99	100	100	100	100
	No.	13	108	119	83	37
High	More than 4 yrs. c.	10%	15%	30%	37%	65%
	Four yrs. college	40%	41%	48%	54%	29%
	Less	50%	44%	22%	9%	6%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	10	59	116	117	83

TABLE 3.11

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WHO REPORT FATHER AS HAVING TWO HIGHEST, INTERMEDIATE, AND TWO LOWEST GOAL SCORES, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Father's Goal Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Highest (4,5)	26%	36%	52%	57%	71%
	(3)	13%	18%	16%	23%	21%
	Lowest (1,2)	61%	46%	32%	20%	7%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	99
	No.	76	177	134	30	14
Intermediate	Highest (4,5)	25%	26%	49%	67%	72%
	(3)	33%	24%	20%	22%	14%
	Lowest (1,2)	42%	50%	32%	11%	14%
	Total %	100	100	101	100	100
	No.	12	107	117	82	36
High	Highest (4,5)	22%	24%	47%	62%	73%
	(3)	33%	24%	24%	24%	13%
	Lowest (1,2)	44%	53%	29%	14%	13%
	Total %	99	101	100	100	99
	No.	9	59	115	117	82

TABLE 3.12

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR MOTHERS EXPECT THEM TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Mother Expects		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college		25%	43%	62%	61%	82%
	2 yrs. college		36%	32%	19%	26%	18%
	Less		39%	25%	19%	13%	0%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	113	236	151	46	17
Inter-mediate	4 yrs. college		42%	42%	57%	72%	81%
	2 yrs. college		17%	31%	24%	22%	16%
	Less		41%	27%	18%	6%	2%
	Total	%	100	100	99	100	99
		No.	24	141	143	97	43
High	4 yrs. college		27%	46%	66%	73%	79%
	2 yrs. college		64%	34%	24%	19%	16%
	Less		9%	20%	10%	8%	5%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	11	85	148	135	86

TABLE 3.13

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR FATHERS EXPECT THEM TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Father Expects		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college		19%	45%	59%	69%	83%
	2 yrs. college		30%	33%	21%	22%	11%
	Less		51%	23%	20%	8%	5%
	Total	%	100	101	100	99	99
		No.	93	217	153	36	18
Intermediate	4 yrs. college		37%	44%	55%	76%	81%
	2 yrs. college		21%	35%	27%	16%	14%
	Less		42%	21%	18%	8%	5%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	19	127	134	89	43
High	4 yrs. college		27%	46%	65%	71%	77%
	2 yrs. college		9%	30%	25%	18%	22%
	Less		64%	24%	9%	11%	1%
	Total	%	100	100	99	100	100
		No.	11	70	138	128	87

TABLE 3.14

BOYS' REPORTS OF NUMBER OF FRIENDS MOTHER THINKS HAVE HAD A BAD INFLUENCE ON THEIR SCHOOL WORK, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Number of Friends	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	None	65%	64%	65%	71%	76%
	1 or 2	21%	25%	20%	16%	18%
	3 or more	15%	11%	15%	13%	6%
	Total %	101	100	100	100	100
	No.	110	235	151	45	17
Inter-mediate	None	69%	56%	66%	68%	60%
	1 or 2	12%	25%	16%	21%	12%
	3 or more	19%	20%	18%	11%	29%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	101
	No.	26	142	143	94	42
High	None	73%	59%	65%	66%	76%
	1 or 2	9%	25%	21%	21%	17%
	3 or more	18%	16%	14%	13%	7%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	11	85	146	136	84

TABLE 3.15

BOYS' REPORTS OF NUMBER OF FRIENDS FATHER THINKS HAVE HAD A BAD INFLUENCE ON THEIR SCHOOL WORK, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Number of Friends	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	None	69%	63%	60%	63%	78%
	1 or 2	17%	24%	30%	29%	17%
	3 or more	13%	13%	10%	9%	6%
	Total %	99	100	100	101	101
	No.	97	214	154	35	18
Inter-mediate	None	67%	60%	61%	69%	64%
	1 or 2	17%	22%	27%	24%	9%
	3 or more	17%	18%	13%	7%	26%
	Total %	101	100	101	100	99
	No.	18	127	133	88	42
High	None	64%	61%	60%	69%	73%
	1 or 2	9%	29%	23%	18%	18%
	3 or more	27%	11%	17%	13%	10%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	101
	No.	11	66	141	125	84

TABLE 3.16

BOYS' REPORTS OF NUMBER OF FRIENDS MOTHER THINKS HAVE HAD A GOOD INFLUENCE ON THEIR SCHOOL WORK, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Number of Friends	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	3 or more	35%	37%	49%	35%	44%
	1 or 2	30%	24%	24%	30%	12%
	None	35%	39%	27%	35%	44%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	111	234	152	46	16
Inter-mediate	3 or more	24%	31%	32%	42%	45%
	1 or 2	24%	28%	27%	25%	26%
	None	52%	40%	41%	33%	29%
	Total %	100	99	100	100	100
	No.	25	144	135	97	42
High	3 or more	30%	31%	34%	43%	42%
	1 or 2	50%	30%	33%	19%	21%
	None	20%	39%	33%	38%	37%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	10	83	149	137	84

TABLE 3.17

BOYS' REPORTS OF NUMBER OF FRIENDS FATHER THINKS HAVE HAD A GOOD INFLUENCE ON THEIR SCHOOL WORK, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Number of Friends	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	3 or more	30%	36%	43%	47%	44%
	1 or 2	22%	20%	23%	21%	11%
	None	48%	43%	35%	32%	44%
	Total %	100	99	101	100	99
	No.	97	216	152	34	18
Intermediate	3 or more	26%	36%	28%	42%	35%
	1 or 2	21%	20%	24%	22%	32%
	None	53%	44%	48%	36%	33%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	19	126	131	88	40
High	3 or more	20%	27%	32%	37%	47%
	1 or 2	30%	28%	26%	22%	22%
	None	50%	45%	42%	41%	31%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	10	67	139	125	86

TABLE 3.18

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING THAT BOTH, ONE, OR NEITHER OF THEIR TWO BEST FRIENDS WILL FINISH COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Will Finish College	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Both	10%	22%	30%	23%	53%
	One	43%	46%	48%	54%	41%
	Neither	47%	32%	22%	23%	6%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	86	219	151	43	17
Inter-mediate	Both	26%	16%	33%	52%	55%
	One	53%	46%	48%	30%	32%
	Neither	21%	38%	19%	18%	12%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	99
	No.	19	125	125	84	40
High	Both	0%	28%	31%	41%	51%
	One	90%	48%	52%	46%	42%
	Neither	10%	25%	17%	13%	6%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	99
	No.	10	69	129	117	78

TABLE 3.19

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING THAT BOTH, ONE, OR NEITHER OF THEIR TWO BEST FRIENDS CONSIDER GRADES IMPORTANT, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Consider Grades Important		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Both		60%	67%	68%	67%	72%
	One		28%	26%	22%	24%	22%
	Neither		12%	7%	10%	9%	6%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	98	227	159	45	18
Intermediate	Both		65%	52%	63%	78%	73%
	One		35%	33%	24%	13%	17%
	Neither		0%	15%	13%	9%	10%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	20	132	133	88	41
High	Both		36%	72%	73%	76%	82%
	One		55%	26%	19%	17%	14%
	Neither		9%	3%	8%	7%	4%
	Total	%	100	101	100	100	100
		No.	11	74	140	127	83

TABLE 3.20

BOYS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEIR TWO BEST FRIENDS MADE THEM MORE INTERESTED IN DOING WELL IN SCHOOL WORK, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Made More Interested	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Both did	25%	32%	36%	41%	38%
	One did	19%	16%	16%	24%	19%
	No difference	56%	52%	48%	34%	44%
	Total %	100	100	100	99	101
	No.	91	211	148	41	16
Intermediate	Both did	20%	21%	33%	28%	21%
	One did	25%	17%	10%	19%	13%
	No difference	55%	63%	58%	53%	67%
	Total %	100	101	101	100	101
	No.	20	115	123	81	39
High	Both did	18%	18%	24%	24%	30%
	One did	36%	21%	21%	18%	23%
	No difference	45%	61%	55%	58%	47%
	Total %	99	100	100	100	100
	No.	11	72	127	120	77

TABLE 3.21

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING THAT HALF OR MORE, A THIRD, OR FEWER OF THE 10th GRADERS IN THEIR SCHOOL WILL GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Percentage Graduate College		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Half		15%	15%	17%	9%	17%
	Third		29%	32%	43%	51%	44%
	Less		56%	53%	40%	40%	39%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	93	238	163	45	18
Inter-mediate	Half		36%	19%	15%	20%	24%
	Third		14%	42%	43%	44%	41%
	Less		50%	39%	42%	36%	34%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	99
		No.	22	135	134	95	41
High	Half		36%	25%	34%	32%	30%
	Third		45%	41%	43%	49%	44%
	Less		18%	34%	23%	19%	26%
	Total	%	99	100	100	100	100
		No.	11	80	139	130	84

TABLE 3.22

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW IMPORTANT GOOD GRADES ARE CONSIDERED BY 10th GRADERS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Grades Important	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Very important	21%	17%	14%	17%	6%
	Pretty important	48%	52%	66%	48%	59%
	Less so	31%	32%	20%	35%	35%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	100
	No.	102	240	169	46	17
Intermediate	Very important	18%	21%	13%	17%	24%
	Pretty important	45%	43%	55%	67%	46%
	Less so	36%	36%	32%	16%	29%
	Total %	99	100	100	100	99
	No.	22	141	142	93	41
High	Very important	17%	13%	19%	22%	19%
	Pretty important	67%	71%	66%	61%	59%
	Less so	17%	17%	15%	16%	22%
	Total %	101	101	100	99	100
	No.	12	78	144	134	85

TABLE 3.23

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING TEACHERS THINK MOST 10TH-GRADE STUDENTS HAVE A LOT, A FAIR AMOUNT, AND LESS ABILITY, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Ability Teachers Think 10th Graders Have		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	A lot		35%	43%	41%	48%	44%
	Fair amount		55%	50%	51%	46%	50%
	Less*		10%	8%	9%	7%	6%
	Total	%	100	101	101	101	100
		No.	109	235	164	46	18
Inter-mediate	A lot		30%	36%	35%	33%	40%
	Fair amount		70%	57%	55%	62%	50%
	Less		0%	7%	9%	5%	10%
	Total	%	100	100	99	100	100
		No.	20	137	141	91	42
High	A lot		55%	34%	52%	55%	41%
	Fair amount		36%	64%	44%	42%	52%
	Less		9%	3%	4%	4%	7%
	Total	%	100	101	100	101	100
		No.	11	80	139	132	85

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[*] This combines the response "little" and "very little" ability.

TABLE 3.24

STUDENTS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR MOST BOYS THEY KNOW EXPECT THEM TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH STUDENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	How Far Expected to Go In School	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	25%	49%	57%	69%	61%
	Jr. college	30%	25%	28%	20%	17%
	Less	45%	27%	14%	11%	22%
	Total %	100	101	99	100	100
	No.	102	244	166	45	18
Intermediate	4 yrs. college	30%	37%	54%	69%	69%
	Jr. college	35%	38%	24%	19%	29%
	Less	35%	24%	21%	12%	2%
	Total %	100	99	99	100	100
	No.	23	139	140	94	42
High	4 yrs. college	33%	41%	52%	67%	76%
	Jr. college	25%	36%	34%	23%	16%
	Less	42%	23%	14%	9%	7%
	Total %	100	100	100	99	99
	No.	12	81	143	132	85

TABLE 3.25

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING COUNSELORS TOLD THEM THEY WERE NOT GOOD ENOUGH TO FINISH TWO OR FOUR YEARS COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Told Not Good Enough to Finish		Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	2 years college		18%	6%	7%	4%	6%
	4 years college		8%	8%	10%	7%	22%
	Neither		74%	86%	84%	89%	72%
	Total	%	100	110	101	100	100
		No.	105	240	167	45	18
Inter-mediate	2 years college		18%	7%	14%	8%	5%
	4 years college		18%	12%	12%	8%	12%
	Neither		64%	80%	74%	83%	84%
	Total	%	100	99	100	99	101
		No.	22	137	143	95	43
High	2 years college		17%	10%	10%	10%	6%
	4 years college		25%	11%	9%	8%	9%
	Neither		58%	79%	80%	83%	85%
	Total	%	100	100	99	101	100
		No.	12	82	143	133	85

TABLE 3.26

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING COUNSELORS TOLD THEM THEY WERE GOOD ENOUGH TO FINISH TWO OR FOUR YEARS COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Told Were Good Enough to Finish	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	36%	47%	54%	54%	67%
	2 yrs. college	13%	8%	13%	4%	11%
	Neither	51%	45%	33%	41%	22%
	Total %	100	100	100	99	100
	No.	108	238	167	46	18
Intermediate	4 yrs. college	45%	54%	49%	70%	56%
	2 yrs. college	14%	17%	16%	8%	5%
	Neither	41%	30%	34%	23%	40%
	Total %	100	101	99	101	101
	No.	22	139	140	93	43
High	4 yrs. college	62%	63%	57%	64%	66%
	2 yrs. college	31%	14%	11%	7%	7%
	Neither	8%	23%	32%	29%	27%
	Total %	101	100	100	100	100
	No.	13	83	145	132	85

TABLE 3.27

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING COUNSELORS EXPECT THEM TO FINISH FOUR YEARS, TWO YEARS, OR LESS THAN TWO YEARS COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Counselor Expects	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	36%	56%	68%	80%	72%
	1 to 2 years	29%	26%	19%	13%	17%
	Less	36%	19%	13%	7%	11%
	Total %	101	101	100	100	100
	No.	101	241	168	45	18
Intermediate	4 yrs. college	36%	51%	61%	72%	74%
	1 to 2 years	27%	28%	21%	16%	16%
	Less	36%	21%	18%	12%	9%
	Total %	99	100	100	100	99
	No.	22	136	144	94	43
High	4 yrs. college	25%	51%	61%	77%	76%
	1 to 2 years	50%	32%	25%	18%	20%
	Less	25%	17%	14%	5%	4%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	12	82	143	131	84

TABLE 3.28

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING TEACHERS TOLD THEM THEY WERE NOT GOOD ENOUGH TO FINISH TWO OR FOUR YEARS COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Social Class				
School Type	Told Not Good Enough to Finish		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	2 years college		19%	17%	16%	4%	17%
	4 years college		15%	8	10%	9%	17%
	Neither		66%	75%	74%	87%	67%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	101
		No.	107	241	168	46	18
Inter-mediate	2 years college		43%	14%	22%	11%	9%
	4 years college		0%	18%	13%	9%	12%
	Neither		57%	68%	65%	81%	79%
	Total	%	100	100	100	101	100
		No.	21	139	143	94	43
High	2 years college		31%	17%	14%	11%	8%
	4 years college		8%	12%	6%	11%	12%
	Neither		62%	70%	80%	79%	80%
	Total	%	101	99	100	101	100
		No.	13	81	142	132	84

TABLE 3.29

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING TEACHERS TOLD THEM THEY WERE GOOD ENOUGH TO FINISH TWO OR FOUR YEARS COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Told Were Good Enough to Finish	Family Social Class				
		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	36%	45%	56%	51%	67%
	2 yrs. college	19%	12%	10%	7%	11%
	Neither	45%	42%	34%	42%	22%
	Total %	100	99	100	100	100
	No.	109	240	167	45	18
Inter-mediate	4 yrs. college	55%	51%	55%	67%	58%
	2 yrs. college	5%	19%	15%	3%	9%
	Neither	41%	30%	30%	30%	33%
	Total %	101	100	100	100	100
	No.	22	139	143	94	43
High	4 yrs. college	31%	59%	52%	62%	57%
	2 yrs. college	23%	9%	6%	4%	5%
	Neither	46%	32%	42%	34%	37%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	13	81	143	131	86

TABLE 3.30

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REPORTING TEACHERS EXPECT THEM TO FINISH FOUR YEARS, TWO YEARS, OR LESS THAN TWO YEARS COLLEGE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Teacher Expects	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	25%	48%	64%	76%	67%
	1 to 2 years	37%	29%	21%	16%	17%
	Less	38%	23%	15%	9%	17%
	Total %	100	100	100	101	101
	No.	102	241	168	45	18
Inter-mediate	4 yrs. college	36%	40%	55%	68%	74%
	1 to 2 years	18%	32%	26%	20%	21%
	Less	45%	28%	19%	12%	5%
	Total %	99	100	100	100	100
	No.	22	138	144	95	43
High	4 yrs. college	27%	46%	55%	73%	77%
	1 to 2 years	45%	31%	31%	22%	18%
	Less	27%	23%	15%	5%	5%
	Total %	99	100	101	100	100
	No.	11	83	143	132	84

TABLE 3.31

COUNSELORS' EVALUATION OF BOYS' ACADEMIC ABILITY, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Counselor Evaluation (Can Finish)		Family Social Class			
		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	13%	25%	39%	51%	53%
	1 to 2 years	21%	32%	33%	26%	29%
	Less	66%	42%	28%	23%	18%
	Total %	100	99	100	100	100
	No.	119	272	176	47	17
Inter-mediate	4 yrs. college	35%	39%	42%	67%	65%
	1 to 2 years	27%	39%	25%	20%	25%
	Less	38%	22%	33%	13%	10%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	26	149	146	99	40
High	4 yrs. college	46%	55%	63%	65%	85%
	1 to 2 years	8%	23%	26%	26%	11%
	Less	46%	23%	11%	10%	3%
	Total %	100	101	100	101	99
	No.	13	88	147	141	87

TABLE 3.32

COUNSELORS' EVALUATION OF BOYS' GOAL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Boys' Goal (Wants to Finish)		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college		21%	33%	48%	53%	60%
	1 to 2 years		24%	29%	31%	30%	20%
	Less		55%	38%	21%	17%	20%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	116	266	172	47	15
Intermediate	4 yrs. college		37%	49%	62%	84%	80%
	1 to 2 years		25%	30%	20%	12%	15%
	Less		38%	22%	18%	4%	5%
	Total	%	100	101	100	100	100
		No.	24	148	146	99	41
High	4 yrs. college		31%	50%	70%	69%	87%
	1 to 2 years		38%	27%	19%	22%	10%
	Less		31%	23%	10%	9%	2%
	Total	%	100	100	99	100	99
		No.	13	88	144	139	86

TABLE 3.33

COUNSELORS' PREDICTION OF BOYS' PROBABLE LEVEL OF ATTAINMENT, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Counselor Prediction (Will Finish)	Family Social Class				
		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college	8%	17%	29%	45%	50%
	1 to 2 years	21%	36%	43%	36%	31%
	Less	71%	47%	28%	19%	19%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	117	268	173	47	16
Intermediate	4 yrs. college	15%	22%	33%	63%	59%
	1 to 2 years	31%	40%	34%	25%	32%
	Less	54%	38%	32%	12%	10%
	Total %	100	100	99	100	101
	No.	26	149	145	99	41
High	4 yrs. college	16%	28%	42%	52%	75%
	1 to 2 years	38%	40%	38%	31%	17%
	Less	46%	32%	19%	17%	8%
	Total %	100	100	99	100	100
	No.	13	88	146	141	87

TABLE 3.34

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS RATED BY THEIR COUNSELORS AS HAVING THE ABILITY FOR FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE AND PERCENTAGES FOR WHOM COLLEGE GRADUATION IS PREDICTED.*

	Family Social Class				
School Type	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	5	8	10	6	3
Intermediate	20	17	9	4	6
High	31	27	21	10	10

*The percentage differences reported here for the 15 sub-groups were obtained by subtracting the percentage in each group rated as having the ability to complete college (Table) from the percentage for whom college graduation is predicted (Table).

TABLE 3.35

BOYS' SCORES ON FAVORABILITY OF ATTITUDE TO TEACHERS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1)	17%	12%	17%	9%	11%
	(2)	38%	34%	36%	43%	17%
	(3)	35%	41%	31%	33%	39%
	Highest (4)	10%	13%	16%	15%	33%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	104	240	162	46	18
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1)	14%	15%	17%	18%	21%
	(2)	32%	45%	35%	25%	48%
	(3)	46%	33%	35%	45%	29%
	Highest (4)	9%	7%	14%	12%	2%
	Total %	101	100	101	100	100
	No.	22	133	138	91	92
High	Lowest (1)	23%	19%	22%	22%	20%
	(2)	46%	41%	40%	37%	27%
	(3)	15%	32%	32%	34%	40%
	Highest (4)	15%	9%	7%	6%	14%
	Total %	99	101	101	99	101
	No.	13	79	144	131	81

TABLE 3.36

BOYS' SCORES ON LIKING FOR SCHOOL WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Family Social Class Lower Working	 Upper Working	 Lower Middle	 Upper Middle	 Upper
Low	Lowest (1,2)	41%	33%	33%	30%	28%
	(3)	29%	32%	31%	17%	22%
	Highest (4,5)	31%	36%	37%	52%	50%
	Total %	101	101	101	99	100
	No.	108	245	169	46	18
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1,2)	45%	49%	43%	35%	35%
	(3)	36%	26%	28%	30%	30%
	Highest (4,5)	18%	25%	29%	34%	35%
	Total %	99	100	100	99	100
	No.	22	142	145	93	43
High	Lowest (1,2)	31%	38%	43%	32%	36%
	(3)	23%	30%	31%	35%	29%
	Highest (4,5)	46%	33%	26%	33%	35%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	100
	No.	13	82	145	134	86

TABLE 3.37

BOYS' SCORES ON CONFORMITY TO SCHOOL NORMS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Boys' Scale Score		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1)		11%	4%	4%	0%	0%
	(2)		13%	12%	12%	9%	11%
	(3)		32%	22%	26%	26%	17%
	Highest (4)		45%	61%	59%	65%	72%
	Total	%	101	99	101	100	100
		No.	104	243	164	46	18
Intermediate	Lowest (1)		0%	6%	6%	5%	5%
	(2)		14%	18%	9%	12%	7%
	(3)		43%	34%	31%	24%	40%
	Highest (4)		43%	42%	54%	59%	49%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	101
		No.	21	140	140	94	43
High	Lowest (1)		0%	5%	6%	5%	1%
	(2)		15%	11%	10%	12%	6%
	(3)		54%	38%	36%	30%	34%
	Highest (4)		31%	46%	49%	53%	59%
	Total	%	100	100	101	100	99
		No.	13	80	144	132	86

TABLE 3.38

BOYS' SCORES ON SELF-ESTEEM WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1,2)	19%	19%	15%	19%	0%
	(3)	29%	22%	16%	11%	17%
	Highest (4,5)	52%	59%	69%	70%	83%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	110	236	154	47	18
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1,2)	22%	16%	13%	10%	10%
	(3)	19%	25%	29%	16%	18%
	Highest (4,5)	59%	59%	58%	74%	72%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	27	136	127	89	39
High	Lowest (1,2)	10%	19%	17%	7%	4%
	(3)	40%	31%	24%	22%	24%
	Highest (4,5)	50%	50%	60%	70%	71%
	Total %	100	100	101	99	99
	No.	10	74	139	122	70

TABLE 3.39

BOYS' SCORES ON NON-UTILITARIAN ORIENTATION, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1,2)	51%	47%	38%	25%	18%
	(3)	38%	38%	41%	48%	59%
	Highest (4)	11%	15%	22%	27%	24%
	Total %	100	100	101	100	101
	No.	115	250	157	48	17
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1,2)	35%	39%	46%	29%	37%
	(3)	46%	45%	38%	45%	33%
	Highest (4)	19%	16%	16%	26%	30%
	Total %	100	101	100	100	100
	No.	26	142	141	92	43
High	Lowest (1,2)	27%	31%	43%	37%	28%
	(3)	55%	45%	36%	36%	38%
	Highest (4)	18%	24%	20%	27%	34%
	Total %	100	100	99	100	100
	No.	11	84	143	130	79

TABLE 3.40

BOYS' SCORES ON FAVORABILITY OF ATTITUDE TO PLANNING, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Family Social Class				
		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1,2)	20%	11%	9%	6%	6%
	(3)	29%	19%	20%	8%	11%
	Highest (4)	51%	70%	71%	86%	83%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	115	253	159	49	18
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1,2)	22%	13%	10%	6%	5%
	(3)	37%	20%	18%	19%	10%
	Highest (4)	41%	67%	72%	75%	86%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	101
	No.	27	142	145	97	42
High	Lowest (1,2)	0%	9%	7%	4%	8%
	(3)	30%	13%	11%	11%	13%
	Highest (4)	70%	78%	82%	85%	79%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	10	90	148	137	87

TABLE 3.41

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH INDICATED SCORES ON SCALE OF BELIEF THAT EFFORT IS REWARDED, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Scale Score		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Low (1,2)		2%	2%	3%	8%	0%
	(3)		10%	13%	13%	10%	11%
	(4)		32%	31%	31%	35%	28%
	High (5)		56%	54%	53%	46%	61%
	Total	%	100	100	100	99	100
		No.	116	252	160	48	18
Inter-mediate	Low (1,2)		4%	4%	3%	2%	10%
	(3)		20%	15%	19%	14%	2%
	(4)		36%	35%	31%	31%	17%
	High (5)		40%	46%	47%	53%	71%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	25	142	144	93	42
High	Low (1,2)		9%	2%	3%	3%	2%
	(3)		0%	11%	15%	10%	15%
	(4)		45%	40%	34%	39%	26%
	High (5)		45%	46%	48%	48%	56%
	Total	%	99	99	100	100	99
		No.	11	87	149	136	84

TABLE 3.42

BOYS' SCORES ON TRUST IN PEOPLE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1)	10%	11%	14%	10%	17%
	(2)	20%	18%	16%	10%	11%
	(3)	35%	27%	22%	18%	17%
	Highest (4,5)	35%	44%	48%	61%	56%
	Total %	100	100	100	99	101
	No.	115	252	161	49	18
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1)	7%	18%	15%	16%	14%
	(2)	30%	21%	22%	13%	14%
	(3)	41%	17%	20%	15%	21%
	Highest (4,5)	22%	43%	43%	56%	50%
	Total %	100	99	100	100	99
	No.	27	143	143	97	42
High	Lowest (1)	9%	20%	13%	13%	9%
	(2)	9%	23%	16%	9%	16%
	(3)	27%	16%	18%	18%	9%
	Highest (4,5)	55%	41%	53%	60%	66%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	11	87	146	136	87

TABLE 3.43

PRESTIGE LEVEL OF LOWEST OCCUPATION RATED BY BOYS AS VERY SATISFACTORY, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Prestige Level of Occupation	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (6,7)	30%	19%	15%	11%	13%
	(5)	40%	32%	31%	30%	40%
	(3,4)	8%	14%	14%	11%	20%
	Highest (1,2)	22%	36%	40%	49%	27%
	Total %	100	101	100	101	100
	No.	97	219	146	37	15
Intermediate	Lowest (6,7)	29%	17%	16%	6%	3%
	(5)	33%	38%	28%	21%	14%
	(3,4)	10%	17%	16%	25%	17%
	Highest (1,2)	29%	28%	41%	48%	66%
	Total %	101	100	101	100	100
	No.	21	115	122	80	35
High	Lowest (6,7)	20%	13%	9%	4%	0%
	(5)	60%	37%	22%	20%	18%
	(3,4)	10%	20%	27%	19%	15%
	Highest (1,2)	10%	30%	42%	57%	68%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	101
	No.	10	70	119	111	68

TABLE 3.44

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR THEY WOULD LIKE TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class			
School Type	Boys' Reports (How Far Would Like to Go)		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Jr. coll. or less		51%	42%	27%	18%	17%
	4 yrs. coll.		25%	33%	37%	41%	33%
	More		24%	24%	36%	41%	50%
	Total	%	100	99	100	100	100
		No.	117	255	165	49	18
Inter-mediate	Jr. Coll. or less		48%	44%	32%	17%	14%
	4 yrs. coll.		41%	34%	34%	47%	23%
	More		11%	22%	33%	36%	63%
	Total	%	100	100	99	100	100
		No.	27	145	145	98	43
High	Jr. Coll. or less		55%	42%	29%	14%	9%
	4 yrs. coll.		27%	27%	38%	43%	20%
	More		18%	31%	33%	43%	70%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	99
		No.	11	89	150	138	88

TABLE 3.45

BOYS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION SCORES, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Family Social Class				
		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1)	25%	37%	37%	18%	20%
	(2)	25%	19%	17%	20%	27%
	(3)	26%	23%	17%	27%	13%
	Highest (4,5)	23%	21%	39%	34%	40%
	Total %	99	100	100	99	100
	No.	111	245	145	44	15
Intermediate	Lowest (1)	48%	44%	34%	26%	17%
	(2)	19%	15%	20%	20%	17%
	(3)	15%	25%	18%	19%	17%
	Highest (4,5)	19%	16%	27%	36%	49%
	Total %	101	100	99	101	100
	No.	27	130	137	90	35
High	Lowest (1)	50%	39%	35%	21%	17%
	(2)	10%	8%	15%	17%	8%
	(3)	30%	25%	19%	21%	18%
	Highest (4,5)	10%	28%	31%	40%	57%
	Total %	100	100	100	99	100
	No.	10	83	144	126	76

TABLE 3.46

BOYS' ESTIMATE OF HOW FAR THEY COULD GO IN SCHOOL IF THEY REALLY WANTED TO, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

School Type	How Far Could Go		Family Social Class				
			Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Jr. coll. or less		59%	43%	27%	12%	6%
	Four yrs. college		29%	31%	27%	33%	33%
	More		12%	26%	46%	55%	61%
	Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
		No.	117	256	164	49	18
Intermediate	Jr. coll. or less		56%	40%	29%	13%	7%
	Four yrs. college		19%	34%	30%	32%	21%
	More		26%	26%	41%	55%	72%
	Total	%	101	100	100	100	100
		No.	27	145	148	99	43
High	Jr. coll. or less		45%	45%	26%	13%	9%
	Four yrs. college		55%	28%	36%	37%	23%
	More		0%	26%	38%	50%	68%
	Total	%	100	99	100	100	100
		No.	11	88	151	139	88

TABLE 3.47

BOYS' SCORES ON ACADEMIC ABILITY, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Goal Scores	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1,2)	63%	58%	46%	48%	44%
	(3)	24%	19%	23%	25%	12%
	Highest (4,5)	13%	23%	31%	27%	44%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	117	253	164	48	18
Intermediate	Lowest (1,2)	59%	68%	55%	40%	37%
	(3)	22%	16%	11%	21%	10%
	Highest (4,5)	19%	16%	34%	39%	53%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	27	146	147	97	43
High	Lowest (1,2)	82%	71%	63%	41%	33%
	(3)	9%	11%	14%	26%	26%
	Highest (4,5)	9%	18%	23%	33%	41%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	11	89	150	138	88

TABLE 3.48

BOYS' GRADE AVERAGES WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Average	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	3.5 or higher	17%	25%	29%	45%	50%
	2.5 to 3.4	39%	45%	47%	45%	28%
	2.4 or less	44%	30%	24%	10%	22%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	122	271	174	49	18
Intermediate	3.5 or higher	8%	13%	28%	46%	35%
	2.5 to 3.4	42%	49%	43%	35%	53%
	2.4 or less	50%	37%	29%	20%	12%
	Total %	100	99	100	101	100
	No.	26	150	148	101	43
High	3.5 or higher	31%	28%	32%	38%	51%
	2.5 to 3.4	38%	39%	45%	44%	40%
	2.4 or less	31%	33%	23%	18%	9%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	13	90	148	141	88

TABLE 3.49

BOYS' SCORES ON ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY SCALE, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Scale Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1)	59%	47%	29%	33%	28%
	(2)	32%	32%	39%	24%	28%
	(3)	4%	16%	19%	27%	22%
	Highest (4,5)	4%	5%	14%	16%	22%
	Total %	99	100	101	100	100
	No.	114	253	162	49	18
Intermediate	Lowest (1)	63%	38%	30%	15%	10%
	(2)	22%	43%	37%	31%	5%
	(3)	7%	11%	14%	19%	21%
	Highest (4,5)	7%	8%	18%	35%	64%
	Total %	99	100	99	100	100
	No.	27	143	146	97	42
High	Lowest (1)	45%	31%	17%	13%	12%
	(2)	36%	41%	42%	27%	22%
	(3)	0%	16%	17%	19%	17%
	Highest (4,5)	18%	13%	24%	41%	49%
	Total %	99	101	100	100	100
	No.	11	88	147	138	86

TABLE 3.50

BOYS' GOAL SCORES, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

		Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Goal Score	Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	Lowest (1,2)	65%	50%	36%	30%	22%
	(3)	24%	32%	32%	30%	39%
	Highest (4,5)	11%	18%	32%	40%	39%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	110	252	171	47	18
Inter-mediate	Lowest (1,2)	58%	52%	39%	28%	14%
	(3)	25%	31%	27%	18%	35%
	Highest (4,5)	17%	17%	34%	54%	51%
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	24	143	144	93	43
High	Lowest (1,2)	50%	51%	35%	24%	19%
	(3)	50%	25%	34%	29%	17%
	Highest (4,5)	0%	24%	30%	47%	64%
	Total %	100	100	99	100	100
	No.	12	79	145	131	86

TABLE 3.51

BOYS' REPORTS OF HOW FAR THEY EXPECT TO GO IN SCHOOL, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL TYPE

			Family Social Class				
School Type	Boys' Expectancy		Lower Working	Upper Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Low	4 yrs. college		26%	43%	58%	76%	78%
	2 yrs. college		37%	39%	26%	20%	22%
	Less		36%	18%	16%	4%	0%
	Total	%	99	100	100	100	100
		No.	102	244	166	45	18
Intermediate	4 yrs. college		43%	40%	57%	69%	76%
	2 yrs. college		26%	38%	27%	23%	21%
	Less		30%	22%	16%	7%	2%
	Total	%	99	100	100	99	99
		No.	23	140	143	94	42
High	4 yrs. college		23%	44%	62%	68%	74%
	2 yrs. college		38%	40%	30%	28%	21%
	Less		38%	16%	8%	4%	5%
	Total	%	99	100	100	100	100
		No.	13	81	146	132	85

CHAPTER 4

SPECIFIC DETERMINANTS OF BOYS' GOALS

This chapter is devoted to assessing the effects of specific factors on boys' educational goals. We will investigate whether, with family social class held constant, these factors are associated with variation in the probability of boys' setting high goals.

It is clear that, in modern industrial societies, attainment of a college education increases the opportunity to lead, at least by conventionally accepted standards, a satisfying and rewarding life. Major segments of American society, it is equally clear, have been deprived by prejudice and lack of opportunity of the chance to lead anything approaching such a life. As but a first step to changing this situation, it follows--given the connection between a person's level of education and the rewards he is likely to receive--that we must move to eliminate the social factors producing the present inequalities in the distribution of boys who are led to obtain a college education.[1]

In the previous chapter, school and family, as determinants of boys' educational goals, were treated globally. Family influence was indexed by family social class, and the influence of schools was indexed by their social-class composition. But an observed relationship between either or both of these global indicators of goals (and related items) tells us little: each may index a host of other more specific factors which, of themselves, could supposedly affect boys' goals. Presumably, some of these factors are the operative variables in the above more global relationships; to the extent they are manipulable, knowing these variables thus makes possible the changing of boys' goals.

Chapter 3 investigated the comparative effect of school and family on a large number of variables which, we assumed, could either directly or indirectly influence the level at which boys set their occupational goals. Our aim in the present chapter is to show empirically that a number of these factors do indeed influence boys' goals.

When family social class was controlled in Chapter 3, the type of school (as indexed by its social-class composition) boys attended showed little relationship to most of the variables examined. Regardless, however, of school type, family social class was found to influence many variables strongly. Because of this finding, there is no need to control both school type and family background in evaluating whether the specific variables considered in this chapter are goal determinants; controlling for family social class suffices. If family social class were not controlled, our findings on goal determinants could be interpreted as reflecting family influence, rather than as products of the variables under consideration. Controlling social class, as we must, also allows us to consider the problem of intra-class variation in goals. Chapter 3 was concerned, in part, with differences between social classes in boys' tendency to set high goals; at issue here are similarities in a given variable's effects across social classes. Does the variable "work;" i.e., does it positively or negatively affect goals in the same way in all social classes?

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[1] This issue is discussed at greater length in Chapter 1.

The data on specific determinants of boys' goals are presented in three sections. These run parallel to the main questions of Chapter 3, and are titled Family Factors, Family-Related Attitudes, and School Factors. Although most of what follows will be data description, each variable is, when indicated, introduced with contextual and theoretical comments.

Family Factors

The data of Chapter 3 attest amply to the significance of family influence on boys' educational goals: almost all the variables examined were associated substantially with family social class. This section will examine data relating to the effects of the individual factors, indexed by family social class, that contribute to this influence.

Accounting in any systematic way for families' effects on boys' goals is not our purpose here. The fact of this influence, or its strength, is hardly surprising. Children literally cannot escape having their interests, values, and personality shaped by family experience. This experience is intense and repetitive; it spans a period during which children are especially receptive to the suggestions of the major figures in their lives--their parents.[1]

Parents' Educational Goals

Their parents' educational goals are the strongest and most direct determinant of how much education boys want to obtain. The concept of parental educational goals implies that parents are strongly motivated to see that their sons get a certain amount of education.[2] This motivationtion is likely to result in parents continually trying to get their sons to share their goals. Their attempts at influence are likely to be high in emotional intensity as well as virtually inescapable. When sons have positive relationships with their parents, it is highly probable as Chapter 5 demonstrates theoretically and empirically, that the level of education sons would like (their educational aspirations) will correspond to the level of their parents' goals. A detailed discussion of the ways in which parents communicate their goals is beyond the scope of this chapter--the topic is taken up in the next chapter--but four times related to parents' goal scores illustrate modes of behavior through which parents' goals are likely to be expressed. They are (a) parents' interest in their sons' schoolwork, (b) parents' emphasis on the importance of college, and (c) parents' estimates of their sons' academic ability.[1]

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[1] See Edward E. Jones and Harold B. Gerard, Foundations of Social Psychology, John Wiley, New York, 1968, Chapter 2.

[2] See our discussion in Chapters 1 and 7.

3

Table 4.1 shows the effects of fathers' and mothers' educational goals on the probability that their sons will set high goals.[2] In all but one case, sons of parents with high goals are much more likely to have high goals than those whose parents' goals are low: this difference ranges between 60 and 70 percent. Where the difference between the percentages of boys reporting high goals when their parents' goals are (a) also high, or (b) low, is of lesser magnitude, one or both percentages in question is likely to be unstable. This is also the case when the percentage of sons having high goals does not rise with each increase in parents' goal scores.[3]

Family Cultural Level Index (FCLI)

This index very roughly represents the intellectual and cultural environment boys encounter at home. Scores are based on boys' reports of items such as the number of books, magazines, newspapers, and the kind of phonograph records found at home.[4] It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the wider the scope and greater the amount of these materials to which boys are exposed, the more likely they are to develop interests and values which will lead them to set a college education as their goal.

We think parents' goals are directly experssed in attempts to influence how much education sons will want' family environment, however, should have more indirect effects on boys' goals. In contrast to the repeated bombardment boys will receive about their parents' goals, issues and areas of interest encountered in home environments may stimulate their curiosity and develop an orientation to life which points them to a college education. It is to be expected that FCLI would be associated with parents' level of education and educational goals,[5] and thus its effects should support those of the latter factor: parents' goals and FCLI scores probably have optimum impact when they reinforce each other. But, theoretically, it is quite possible for home environment to affect the amount of education boys want independently of the level of education parents want for them. This might be the case, for example, when parents have strong mobility aspirations for their sons, but where the parents' own everyday interests and concerns do not run along such educational lines.

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[1] These items were described in detail in the preceding chapter. With family social class controlled, each of them was found to correlate with the likelihood of boys setting high goals. Tables 4.2 through 4.4 present this data. These tables can be regarded as validators of the more direct demonstration of the effects of parents' goals on those of their sons (Table 4.1) that is described in detail below.

[2] See Appendix A for the scale used to rank students on their educational goals. Students scoring "high" on this scale are those who report they are sure or very sure of finishing 4 or more years of college. Also see Appendix A for parents' goal scale.

[3] Since the educational goals set by parents are strongly influenced by their social class (see Chapter 7), there are few cases of parents in the lower social classes having high goals or of those with low goals in the upper classes.

[4] Details on FCLI are found in Appendix A.

[5] Our data show that FCLI scores indeed are correlated with both family social class and parents' educational goals.

The data relating FCLI scores, with family social class controlled, to the percentage of boys reporting high educational goals are shown in Table 4.6. The pattern is straightforward. In each social class, boys in families with the higher cultural level scores are more likely than those from families with the lower scores to be committed to a college education. And at each level of FCLI, the higher the family social class, the greater the percentage of boys with high goals.[1] We can conclude, then, from Table 4.5 that, independently of the effects of social class, FCLI scores tap an aspect of home environment that determines boys' educational goals.

Family-Related Variables

The family's role in shaping the values of tenth-grade boys is emphasized at many points in this Report. Among boys of this age, we believe, one would be hard put to find an area of life whose main threads have not been woven at home. In this section we will consider the probably educational effects of a number of variables--which do not fit under our other rubrics--on which family influence, intuitively at least, seems evident.[2]

Three groups of variables are discussed first: Boys' aspirations and the feasibility of attaining them, their occupational goals, and their sense of control of the future. We then review the data on several other characteristics of the tenth-grade boys: their achievement drive, their self-esteem, and the extent to which their values are non-utilitarian.

Chapter 1 has considered theoretically how boys' educational aspirations and their estimates of the feasibility of obtaining a college education determine the level of their educational goals. Chapter 5 elaborates this discussion of the conjoint influence of aspirations and feasibility and presents data supporting our predictions about how specific combinations of these variables (e.g., high aspirations/low feasibility, etc.) affect goals. Here we examine data showing the separate relationship of boys' educational aspirations and two dimensions of the feasibility factor--academic and economic--to the likelihood of their setting high goals.

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[1] The few exceptions to this involve groups with few cases.

[2] The existence of family influence on all the variables treated in this section could be theoretically argued and, to some degree, empirically supported. But showing this is not our aim here. We are primarily concerned here not with identifying the roots of these variables, but rather with investigating their relationship to boys' goals.

Educational Aspirations

Table 4.6 shows the relationship between their aspiration scores[1] and the percentage of boys with high educational goals. Except for the lower working class, there are large differences in the proportion of boys with high goals (ranging from 65 to 70 percent) between boys with low and high aspirations.[2]

Holding aspirations constant, boys are more likely, in general, to have high goals as their family social class increases; this probably reflects increased economic feasibility. This social class effect, however, is not found for boys having the lowest aspiration scores.

Estimates of Economic Feasibility

We can see in Table 4.7 the association between boys' estimates of the economic feasibility of obtaining a college education[3] and the likelihood of their setting high educational goals. In general, this variable is positively associated with boys' goals: in all social classes, the higher the perceived economic feasibility, the greater tend to be the percentages of boys with high goals. And, at any given level of perceived feasibility, the higher the family social-class position, the more likely boys are to set high goals. The data, however, are less consistent than in the preceding table.

We should note that the overall pattern is not what would be expected if economic feasibility were thought to be determined by social class: controlling for social class should eliminate the effects of perceived economic feasibility on goals. Table 4.7 suggests that when boys believe they are economically able to obtain a college education, regardless of how little or much money their families may have, they are more likely to set high goals. In terms of social action, this implies that if underprivileged but talented boys are convinced they will have economic support, they will be more likely to commit themselves to a college education. This requires vastly increased loan and scholarship funds to cover fees and living expenses of those who, when anticipating going to college, lack the necessary financial resources to feel assured they can go on to graduation or beyond.

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[1] See Appendix A for the description of the measure of aspirations.

[2] In all social classes, there are large increases in the percentages of boys with high goals as aspiration scores go from 3 to 4 and--with the exception of the lower working class--from 4 to 5. Upper working-class boys, for example, with highest aspiration scores are 47 percent more likely to have high goals than those who score 4.

[3] See Appendix A for a description of the measure of this variable.

Estimates of Academic Ability

The relation between boys' estimates of their ability[1] (which can be interpreted as estimates of the academic feasibility of obtaining a college education) and their goals is shown in Table 4.8. Boys with high estimates of their academic ability are more likely to set high goals than those with low ones. This difference is pronounced at all social-class levels. As for the effects of social class generally--at any given estimated ability level--boys from the upper classes are more likely to have high goals than those from the working classes; class by class these effects are not completely consistent, but the class differences are definitely more pronounced for boys having high ability scores than for those with low scores.

Occupational Goals

In contemporary industrial societies, a person's occupational status and level of education usually go hand in hand. Consequently, it might be assumed that boys who choose, for whatever reasons, high-status occupations are also likely to set high educational goals. It is not clear, however, whether choice of occupation precedes decisions about how much education to get, or whether boys' decisions to secure a college education lead to their having high occupational goals. Boys may decide to go to college solely for economic reasons--that is, either because they know college training is needed for a specific kind of work, or, more generally, because they have been told that a college education will bring economic dividends.[2] Intrinsic reasons, too, may lead boys to want to go to college: some, for example, may desire a college education with no specific occupational goal in mind, but rather for the sake of broadening intellectual horizons and obtaining a better understanding of themselves and of the world in which they live. But even in such cases, students' educational goals may shape their decisions about the style of life and occupation they would like to pursue.

The three tables discussed below present data on the relationship between different aspects of boys' orientation toward their future occupations. With respect to the question of cause and effect between occupational choice and educational goals these data are, of course, indeterminate. They illustrate, rather, the fact that this association may be demonstrated in different ways.

Prestige level of chosen occupation and of lowest-status occupation that would be acceptable

The relation between the prestige level of the occupation boys have chosen and their educational goals is shown in the data of Table 4.9. These data are applicable only to the small proportion of boys who have chosen an occupation by the tenth grade. This limitation is overcome by the data of Table 4.10, which presents the relationship between the likelihood of boys having high goals and the lowest occupational level with which they think they would be satisfied.[1] These data probably reflect not so much the effects on their goals of the specific occupation boys would like, as the general level of status they would like to obtain.

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[1] See Appendix A for the measure of boys' estimates of their academic ability.

[2] See John Meyer, "Some Non-Value Effects of Colleges," Unpublished paper, Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1965.

Tables 4.9 and 4.10 both show clearly the expected relationship between the status level of the occupation indicated and the likelihood of boys setting high goals.

Of interest in Table 4.9 is the high proportion of boys, in all social classes, who say they have chosen "highest white collar" occupations. There are, however, strong social-class effects on the educational goals of boys who have made such a choide. While 67 percent of upper-class boys choosing "highest white collar occupations" set high goals, only 20 percent of lower working-class boys making this choice have such goals. Less social-class effect appears for boys who say they have decided on intermediate white collar occupations. And, when boys have chosen blue collar jobs, there appears--although, because there are few such choices, we must say this cautiously--no relationship between their social class and their tendency to set high goals.

Education needed for chosen occupation

Table 4.11 shows that the percentage of boys with high educational goals varies directly with the amount of education they think they will need for their jobs. This occurs in all social classes. For example, while 77 percent of upper-class boys who think they will need fore than 4 years of college for their chosen occupations have high goals, only 12 percent of those who believe junior college would suffice have high goals. Specially interesting are the relatively high percentages of students at each class level who have high goals, but who said they didn't know how much education was needed for the occupations they had chosen. These latter percentages vary directly with family social class, as do those in all levels of education boys think is needed for their presumed future work.

Sense of Control of the Future

This section considers the relation between the level of educational goals boys set and the extent to which they think they can control their future. Clearly, to set distant goals--whose realization requires sacrifice and effort, students must have a sense of being in control of what will happen to them. They must feel that what they do in the present is not futile, that it will have an impact on their later life.

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[1] See Chapter 3 for a description of this variable.

Boys' sense of control of their future undoubtedly derives, at least in part, from the kinds of experiences they have encountered in growing up. The general tone of these experiences is likely to be determined by their families' positions in the social structure. For example, children of poor families might be expected to feel that, much as they might like to, there is little they can do to change their lives. In contrast, children of the well-to-do are likely to be conditioned by their parents' success and their own history of success in academic activities. This could lead to a sense of potency--rather than the frustration that could be expected among poorer boys--and to the conviction that they can control their future.

Youth today, in increasing numbers, are also being affected by the social climate of the society and the world in which they live. The continuing war in Vietnam (with its constant threat of the draft), the possibility of nuclear holocaust, racial strife, the problems of over-population and environmental pollution, hardly encourage an optimistic view of the future nor a feeling that one's destiny is under his own control.

We would suggest both that boys' sense of potency in being able to shape their own future by their actions as well as their pessimism about the prospects confronting our society and the world as a whole, can have an impact on the probability of their setting high educational goals. The former variable could most directly affect persons who have high aspirations, whatever their domain. Given a feeling of hopelessness about attaining them, high aspirations must surrender, or be deactivated; i.e., be held with no action being taken to make them into high goals.

The view which persons have about American society and the larger world could influence the chances of their having high goals by acting directly on their aspirations. Individuals who are uncertain whether mankind even has a future may be led to value activities or a way of life which yield gratification and rewards in the immediate present. "Why strive for education, material success, status, etc.," they might say, "when there may be no tomorrow in which to enjoy them?" And some, while not anticipating the physical destruction of mankind, nonetheless, may impute the sorry state of the world to the values of conventional society (e.g., emphasizing "success" and the "success value" of college), and consequently, be led to reject them in favor of alternative values which they believe promise a better world. Either of the two orientations we have described would rather reduce the chances of young people considering a higher education desirable and hence, making it their goal.

The data we consider below use measures which we believe tap the various dimensions of individuals' sense of control of the future which we have been discussing. The measures are responses to three sets of items which indicate (1) how worthwhile boys think it is to plan for the future, (2) the extent to which boys think effort is rewarded, and (3) the degree to which they think people can be trusted.[1]

Favorability of attitude to planning

Our discussion of the meaning of sense of control of the future leads us to expect that the more individuals regard planning as worthwhile, the greater the probability that they will set themselves high goals. This expectation is borne out by the data of Table 4.12. We find the predicted pattern of association--with only two reversals (in groups having very few cases)--in all five social classes.

The data of Table 4.14 also reveal that, in all but the lower working class, the great majority of the boys fall in the highest rank on the measure of favorability of attitude to planning.[2] If this variable is indeed an indication of individuals' sense of control of their future, these results suggest that only a small minority of young people have been influenced by conditions in our society which could undermine their willingness to commit themselves to long-range goals.[3]

The finding that favorability of attitude to planning is positively correlated with boys' social class[4] supports our assumption that the position of their families in the social structure contributes to boys' view of the extent to which they can control their future.

Belief that effort is rewarded

Table 4.13 shows the relationship between boys' scores on our measure of their belief that effort is rewarded[1] and the probability of their having high goals. This table's pattern comes as a surprise. Because scores on "belief in effort" are correlated with "favorability of attitude to planning," and because the two variables intuitively appear to be indicators of an individual's sense of control of his future, we expected the pattern here to correspond to that in the preceding table. But this is not the case. We find no relationship between scores on belief in the rewards of effort and the probability of boys setting high goals. Nor is there any association between social class and these scores. The only pattern evident in the data of Table 4.13 is the familiar correlation between boys' social class and the likelihood of their having high goals.

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[1] See Appendix A for a description of the measure of the variables. The following items are descriptive of their content. Planning: "Planning is pretty useless because plans hardly ever work out." Effort Rewarded: "No matter how hard you try, it's impossible to get ahead without luck or pull." Trust in People: "If you don't watch out, most people will try to put something over on you." These or similar items have been used in other studies. They are comparable to the three items Coleman, et. al., interpret as indicating ". . . the child's sense of control of his environment." These are: (1) "Good luck is more important than hard work for success." (2) "Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me." (3) "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life." See James S. Coleman, et al., op cit., p. 288.

[2] Approximately 50 percent of the lower working-class boys are found in this category.

[3] Our data were collected about 4 years ago; in the intervening years, the conditions we discussed have worsened.

[4] The difference is sharpest for the two extreme classes: 49 percent of the lower working-class boys, as compared with 82 percent of those from the upper-class families, fall in the category indicative of the most favorable attitude to planning.

Trust in People

Briefly, we included this variable under the "sense of control of the future" rubric because we assumed that human actions are always embedded in a matrix of interpersonal relationships. Persons who generally trust others, consequently, are likely to have confidence that what they attempt to achieve will have a favorable outcome. We therefore assume that students rejecting a proposition like, "If you don't watch out, most people will try to put something over on you,"[2] are more likely to adopt long-range goals than those endorsing it. They realize that achievement of their goals is dependent, to some degree, on the support and assistance of others (parents, teachers, counselors, for example). Because they are disposed to trust people, they will be more disposed to undertake the attainment of such goals.

The data of Table 4.14 provide some evidence for our hypothesis--namely that greater trust in people is positively associated with a higher probability of boys having high educational goals. This pattern of relationship is, however, absent for boys of the lower working class.[3] It is most pronounced and consistent among those from upper middle-class families. In the other three classes, it is present with some reversals.

The distribution of scores on the variable "trust in people" is much less skewed than the distribution found for attitudes to planning. As in the case of the latter, we find that scores on "trust in people" are positively related to social class. We also find that the effect of social class on boys' goals persists when scores on this variable are held constant.

Achievement Drive

The concept of achievement drive is discussed at length in the next chapter. Here we simply note that it indicates motivation to do well in the things one values. The relation of boys' achievement drive scores[1] to their educational goals is shown in Table 4.15. We find that with one exception the higher boys' scores on our measure of achievement drive, the more they tend to have high goals. The persistent effect of social class on goals is also seen here. Regardless of boys' achievement drive scores, those in the higher social classes are more likely to have high educational goals. This class association is sharper, however, for boys having the highest achievement drive scores than for those in the other score categories. Finally, we note that there is no relationship between their families' social class and boys' achievement drive scores. Whatever the family conditions and experiences which shape the achievement drive may be, our data suggest they are not a function of the factors indexed by social class.

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[1] See Appendix A.

[2] This is one of the items which scores on "trust in people" are based. See Appendix A for the others.

[3] There is even an indication of a negative association.

Self-Esteem

Table 4.16 shows how boys' scores on our self-esteem scale are related to their educational goals. We intended the scores to tap boys' generalized sense of their worth and capabilities.[2] We assume that a boy with high self-esteem would have more confidence in himself--and hence in his ability to complete a college education--than someone with a low self-esteem score.[3]

In general, the data indicate that the higher boys' self-esteem scores, the more likely they are to have high goals. This association, however, is weak in both the lower working- and upper class. Overall, the relationship between self-esteem and boys' goals seems somewhat less pronounced than the correlation between their estimates of academic ability and their goals. We also note that controlling self-esteem does not eliminate the influence of social class on goals.

Non-Utilitarian Orientation

Adults differ in the extent to which they value education and work primarily for monetary returns. It can be assumed that high school students looking to the future also differ in this regard. For some, the main appeal of a higher education--through the occupation associated with it--is financial and status rewards. Others value the intrinsic worth and interest of education or occupations more highly.

The non-utilitarian orientation is exemplified by disagreement with one of the three items we used to measure the variable.[4] "The most important thing about a college education is that you can get a better paying job." Table 4.17 presents the data on the relation between boys' scores on this variable and the likelihood of their having high educational goals. No association is found for lower working-class boys. Although the pattern is not consistent as we go from the lowest scores to the higher, in the other four classes the proportion of boys with high goals is appreciably greater among those who rank highest on their non-utilitarian orientation than among those who score lower in the scale.

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[1] See Appendix A for a description of the measure of achievement drive.

[2] See Appendix A for details on this scale and its items.

[3] A discussion of the concept of self-esteem is found in Morris Rosenberg (op. cit.). Stanley Coopersmith presents a somewhat different view of the concept in The Antecedents of Self-Esteem, W. H. Freeman, San Francisco, 1968.

[4] See Appendix A for the other two items and their scoring.

Another finding of interest--although not surprising--is that their non-utilitarian orientation varies positively with boys' social class. For example, only 13 percent of those from lower working-class families, as compared with 32 percent of the boys from the upper-class families, fall in the highest score category.

School

We here investigate how, independently of their social-class composition, schools can affect boys' goals. The data are divided into three parts: (1) boys' orientation to school, (2) peer effects, and (3) support from counselors and teachers.

Orientation to School

This section deals with the favorability of boys' orientation to school and its relation to their educational goals. It considers data bearing on the association between boys' goals and their liking for school and their teachers, their concern with grades,[1] and their grade average .

Boys' attitudes to school can be regarded as primarily affecting their perception of the feasibility of attaining a high educational goal. To the extent that they view school favorably, boys are more likely to be oriented toward academic success (getting good grades) and to conforming to what is expected of them. This should result in favorable evaluation by teachers and counselors, whose support and encouragement can be expected to raise boys' perceptions of the feasibility of a college education. Accordingly, a positive orientation toward school can be viewed as a condition that works to increase students' perceptions of the feasibility of obtaining a college education. Those who would strongly like to attend college, realizing the need to present good "credentials" for admission, will work to make a good impression in high school. On the other hand, despite the advantages boys may see for their future in obtaining a college education, those not positively oriented toward school and academic activities cannot be expected to set themselves a high educational goal: because they assume they will be unable to tolerate 4 years of what seems unpleasant activity, they may conclude that, despite its benefits, a college education is unfeasible.

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[1] See Appendix A for details about the scales for these variables.

Liking for school and favorability of attitudes toward teachers

Table 4.18 presents the relationship between boys' scale scores on liking for school and the probability of their reporting high educational goals; Table 4.19 shows the association between goals and the favorability of boys' attitudes toward their teachers. Since the trends in the two tables are similar, we will discuss them together.

A strong and stable relationship is found between both variables and boys' goals in the upper working-, lower middle-, and upper middle-classes.[1] There appears to be no relationship, however, between goals and either variable for boys from upper-class backgrounds. And in the lower working class, the favorability of boys' attitudes to teachers is not positively related to the likelihood of their having high goals.[2]

These findings suggest that, at the extremes of the social classes, factors such as students' estimates of the academic and economic feasibility of finishing college may make their orientation toward school irrelevant as a goal determinant. For example, lower-class boys--regardless of their feeling for school--may rule out the possibility of a college education because they think it is beyond their families' means.

Concern with grades and average grade

The data of Table 4.21 show the relationship between the percentages of boys with high goals and their concern with getting good grades.[3] A consistent trend is evident: in all social classes, and with only one minor reversal, the greater boys' concern with grades, the more likely they are to set high goals. The relatively few cases of upper middle- and upper-class boys with little concern for grades and the small number of lower working-class boys scoring high on concern with grades should be noted.[4] The clear trend of the data, however, provides confidence in the observed percentages.

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[1] It is interesting to note that there are no social-class differences in the relationship between boys' scale scores on conformity to school norms and the likelihood of their having high goals. This relationship is sufficiently positive in all social classes to make us confident of its reliability, despite the occurrence of a few categories with low n's. These data are presented in Table 4.20, but are not discussed in the text because conformity to school norms showed some school effect in Chapter 3.

[2] There even appears to be a slight tendency in this social class for the percentages of boys with high goals to be negatively related to their favorability toward teachers, but because of the few cases in the "low" and "high" categories, this must be regarded with caution.

[3] See Appendix A for the description of the scale measuring this variable.

[4] Chapter 3 found this variable to be strongly correlated with family social class.

Attention is called to the absence of any social-class effect in Table 4.21. That is, with grade concern held constant, the percentage of boys with high goals does not tend to be greater in the upper- than in the lower classes. The effect of social class is observed, however, in virtually every other table in this chapter (as well as elsewhere in this report). Why the class effect does not appear in relation to boys' concern with grades will be discussed following the review of the next table.

Table 4.22 shows the association between boys' average grade (in solid subjects) and their goals. This variable probably affects boys' goals by influencing their estimates of the feasibility of getting into and finishing college. Again, the findings are quite straightforward. The increase, at every social-class level, in the percentages of boys with high educational goals as their grade average increases has but one slight reversal. However, in contrast to the previous table, for each category of grade average, as family social class increases, boys are more likely to set high goals.

Why does social class operate so differently with respect to actual grades and concern with grades? One explanation of this unanticipated difference may be that one of the main ways families influence boys' orientations toward school is through parents' concern with their grades; since this concern is a dimension of parents' educational goals, it is likely to be determined by family social class. If boy's concern with getting good grades in school is assumed to reflect their educational aspiration,[1] and (as Chapter 6 shows) these aspirations are strongly influenced by parents' goals, then the absence of a social-class effect in Table 4.21 is hardly surprising: holding constant boys' concern with grades, we have eliminated variance in a factor which should be linked to family social class.

Peers: Students' Reports About Their Two Best Friends

Students were asked a number of questions concerning their "two best friends in the tenth grade in this school." These questions dealt with students' estimates of whether their friends were concerned with getting good grades in school, whether they actually obtained good grades, and whether they were expected to finish college. Tables 4.23 and 4.25 present students' responses to these items.

Peer effects

A number of studies have shown that the educational goals[2] of high school friends are likely to be similar.[1] This finding is often interpreted in favor of the thesis that the educational values of his peers are a determinant of a student's own educational goals. This interpretation must be viewed with caution. Like schools, peers' values may reinforce and sustain an individual student's goal, but it is difficult to see how--except in very special cases--they would change or determine his goal.

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[1] We believe that boys' concern with their grades reflect their educational aspirations because boys who would like a college education are likely to want to do well in school. Whether the aspirations of such boys are converted into goals may be determined not by their concern with getting good grades, so much as by how well they actually do in school and whether they see finishing college as economically feasible.

[2] . . . or intentions, aspirations, plans, etc.--depending on the study in question.

The correlation between students' educational goals and those of peers does not, of course, establish any causal connection between the two. While it is possible that peers' goals do change one's own goals, it is equally possible that students establish friendships on the basis of similar orientations to college. If his friends' educational goals do determine a student's goals, we would expect a correlation between school social-class composition and the likelihood of students in the lower social classes either having friends with high goals or of scoring highly on factors which could be expected to indicate high goals--such as concern with grades. But the data of Chapter 3 revealed no such correlation, or showed it to be slight.

There are, moreover, a number of theoretical considerations which cast doubt on the idea that mere association with boys whose goals are high can induce a boy to raise his low goals. Continued interaction between boys with dissimilar goals is likely to be rare--unless schools can introduce salient bases for friendship that can override the dissimilarity in family background likely to exist between such boys. But if the bases of similarity between friends that sustain interaction stem from their family background, it would be more accurate to call family social class the determinant of goal similarity among friends.

We think it judicious, at this point, to look for attitudinal similarities between friends that may result in their having similar goals--and indeed may be the foci of their friendship. The association between a boy's goals and those of his friends may follow from agreement on certain values which determine how much education these boys want; and it is this agreement which may lead to their friendship and sustain it.

Tables 4.21 and 4.22 have shown that boys' concern with grades, as well as the actual grades the obtain, can both be regarded as correlates of their educational goals: the higher their grades, or the greater their concern with them, the more likely boys are to set high goals. The relation to boys' goals of their friends' grades and concern with grades are shown in the two tables discussed below.

Table 4.23 shows the percentages of boys with high goals when they report that both, neither, or one of their two best friends consider getting good grades to be important. The same configuration is presented in Table 4.24 which deals with boys' reports of whether their two best friends get good grades (A's and B's).

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[1] See for example, Archibald O. Haller and C. E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," Social Forces, Vol. 38, 1960, pp. 289-295, and C. Norman Alexander, Jr., and Ernest Q. Campbell, (op. cit.).

In all social classes, boys are most likely to have high goals when both their best friends get good grades, or are concerned with getting them. They are also more likely to report having high goals when one of the friends shows this concern or performance than when neither does. There is only one exception to this trend in each table. This clear pattern increases our confidence in the percentages of the two categories in Table 4.24 which contain relatively few cases.[1]

In both tables, regardless of the number of friends concerned, the higher the family social class, the greater tends to be the probability of boys setting high goals.

We may conclude from the data of Tables 4.23 and 4.24 that in all social classes, boys are more likely to have high educational goals as more of their friends do well in school or are oriented to doing well.

We see in Table 4.25 the association between boys' goals and their reports about whether or not they expect their two best friends to finish college. The data here generally follow the pattern noted in the two previous tables. In the upper working-, lower middle-, and upper middle classes, boys who think one of their friends will finish college are considerably more likely to have high goals than those who believe that neither of their friends will finish; and those who expect both their best friends to complete college are more likely to set high goals themselves than the former (one friend) group. This also holds for boys from the upper class and the lower working class, but not quite as consistently. However, we can say that, in all social classes, boys who expect both their best friends to finish college are substantially more likely to make this their own goal than are boys who think neither of their best friends will be college graduates.

Support by Counselors and Teachers

We secured data about counselors' and teachers' evaluations of students on a number of dimensions. These yielded the following variables: (a) boys' reports of how far counselors and teachers expected them to go in school; (b) counselors' predictions of boys' level of educational attainment, and (c) counselors' evaluations of how far boys could go if they tried their best. The relation between these variables and boys' goals is shown in Tables 4.26 through 4.29.

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[1] These are lower working-class and upper-class boys neither of whose best friends is concerned with getting good grades.

[2] We will not examine these tables in detail here. Since school type is not controlled here, we cannot be sure that the effects of some of the variables described above do not stem, at least in part, from school social class. Nor do we believe these variables represent the best indicators of how teachers and counselors affect their students' educational decisions. Teachers and counselors may base the advice they give to

(footnote continued on next page)

In all classes but the lower working class, counselors' evaluations and predictions are associated with the probability of boys setting high goals. With minor exceptions, counselors' and teachers' expectations evince the same effects. However, if counselors and teachers expect boys to obtain a high school education or less, social class has no effect on the probability of boys' having high goals. Nor does it affect boys' goals if counselors expect they will only be able to complete junior college. And social class has only weak effects on boys' goals for given levels of educational attainment predicted by counselors.

Have boys been told they are good enough to finish college?

This should be the most direct source of counselors' and teachers' influence on boys' goals. Tables 4.30 (counselors) and 4.31 (teachers) show the relationship between counselors' and teachers' having given boys the idea they are good enough to finish college[1] and the chances of boys setting high goals.

Both tables show the same pattern: in all social classes, boys who have been told they are good enough to finish college are more likely to report high educational goals than those who say they have not been told this. In the lower working class, the difference between groups in both tables is slight; in the upper working class, however, it is more pronounced. In the upper class, boys who indicate their teachers informed them they are good enough to finish college are only 8 percent more likely to have high goals than those who have not been encouraged in this way. But in the case of counselors, the parallel difference is 20 percent. It should be noted that for boys not told they were good enough to finish college by counselors or teachers the higher their social class the greater the likelihood they will have high goals.

The data thus show that encouragement by counselors and teachers is very probably a determinant of boys' goals. Counselors and teachers, as pointed out in Chapter 3, represent the focal point of school influence and contact with students: they communicate, with a voice of legitimacy, what is expected and what is seen. Often their relationships with students are sympathetic and friendly. It seems that everyone must know somebody who followed a certain career on the advice of a trusted teacher or counselor--who convinced him of the feasibility of such an undertaking.

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2 (from previous page, continued)
students on these assessments, but it is directly communicated support and guidance which should contribute most to the determination of students' goals. Moreover, there seems some discrepance between what counselors and teachers think of students and what they actually tell them: while counselor ratings were seen to vary considerably according to school type in Chapter 3, boys' reports of encouragement and support showed but slight school effects.

[1] As reported by boys.

Race and Religion

Family religious background and race or ethnicity cannot of themselves be regarded as determinants of boys' goals. If they are found to be associated with boys' goals, this is presumably because these social attributes index other factors (such as success values, differential patterns of socialization, or economic status) which can be linked theoretically to educational goals. When religious differences in educational aspirations or goals are reported in the literature, the usual practice is to explain them by reference to such presumed cultural values as the Protestant Ethic or the Jewish Talmudic tradition of emphasis on education and learning. However, until the extent to which individuals of a given religion actually hold these values--and the relationship between the values and the desire for college education--are established empirically, such explanations must be regarded as little more than speculative.

Whites, Blacks, and Mexican Americans

Table 4.32 shows the relationship between the probability of boys setting high educational goals and their ethnic background. Data are reported only for boys of the two working classes and of the lower middle class because there were almost no blacks or Mexican-Americans in the higher classes in our sample. Briefly with social class controlled the data of Table 4.32 show no meaningful differences between the groups compared. However, for all three groups, the influence of family social class on boys' goals can clearly be seen.

Religion

Table 4.33 shows the relationship between the chances of sons having high goals when their parents' religious affiliation is Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. The small number of Jewish parents in our study group permits meaningful comparisons only between the two former groups. In general, boys with Protestant parents are slightly more likely to report high goals than those with Catholic parents. This difference is only 9 percent in the upper middle class, and 4 percent or less in the other classes. Within both of these religious groups, however, social class shows virtually the same consistently strong effect on boys' goals.

Summary

This chapter has examined the relationship between the probability of boys setting high educational goals and a large number of variables. For the most part, discussion has emphasized description of the observed relationships rather than attempts to explain these relationships theoretically. We have considered (a) direct indicators of family influence (e.g., parents' educational goals for their sons); (b) family-related factors (such as boys' educational aspirations and their achievement drive); (c) specific school factors (e.g., whether boys have been told by teachers or counselors that they are good enough to finish college.)

Family social class was controlled in the analysis of all the variables in order to determine whether the variables were associated with boys' goals independently of the myriad influences on their goals that are indexed by social class. This analysis also revealed whether certain factors are associated with high goals in some social classes but not in others. (School social class was not controlled because our analysis in this chapter included only variables showing little or no relationship to school type.)

The individual findings will not be reviewed here: they are best seen in the context in which they are discussed. Although many of the findings are not novel, our attempt, where possible, to place the factors in the framework of our model of goal-setting differentiates our analysis from other studies.

TABLE 4.1

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND PARENTS' GOALS FOR THEM

Percentages of Boys with High Goals					
	Father's Goal				
Family Social Class	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Lower Working	4% (54)*	8% (12)	24% (21)	24% (17)	0% (7)
Upper Working	6% (127)	3% (75)	28% (75)	40% (81)	67% (24)
Lower Middle	6% (80)	16% (57)	24% (72)	44% (114)	70% (66)
Upper Middle	8% (24)	15% (20)	30% (54)	56% (85)	77% (57)
Upper	40% (5)	13% (16)	50% (20)	58% (45)	78% (49)
	Mother's Goal				
Lower Working	2% (44)*	17% (29)	14% (22)	18% (22)	37% (8)
Upper Working	2% (110)	9% (91)	19% (78)	36% (86)	71% (28)
Lower Middle	6% (64)	22% (58)	16% (80)	40% (119)	75% (72)
Upper Middle	8% (25)	25% (20)	46% (70)	45% (75)	86% (58)
Upper	18% (11)	17% (12)	59% (22)	59% (49)	81% (43)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.2

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND EXTENT OF PARENTS' INTEREST IN BOYS' SCHOOLWORK

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
Family Social Class	Father's Interest Score			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	0% (25)*	16% (31)	8% (38)	17% (30)
Upper Working	10% (93)	14% (108)	23% (120)	30% (90)
Lower Middle	17% (77)	24% (82)	40% (151)	34% (116)
Upper Middle	16% (25)	53% (40)	48% (95)	52% (87)
Upper	50% (14)	58% (26)	63% (57)	52% (48)
	Mother's Interest Score			
Lower Working	0% (21)*	11% (28)	8% (40)	26% (39)
Upper Working	7% (67)	14% (97)	25% (155)	22% (101)
Lower Middle	17% (35)	38% (98)	29% (158)	37% (132)
Upper Middle	21% (14)	45% (58)	52% (107)	54% (76)
Upper	43% (14)	67% (27)	59% (66)	54% (35)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.3

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY PARENTS' EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLEGE

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Father's Emphasis on College		
	1 (low)	2	3 (high)
Lower Working	0% (17)*	6% (51)	18% (56)
Upper Working	11% (35)	14% (167)	26% (211)
Lower Middle	10% (31)	18% (132)	40% (264)
Upper Middle	10% (10)	22% (54)	56% (186)
Upper	40% (5)	35% (31)	64% (111)
	Mother's Emphasis on College		
Lower Working	0% (14)*	7% (43)	18% (72)
Upper Working	5% (39)	11% (127)	25% (256)
Lower Middle	8% (26)	20% (100)	39% (298)
Upper Middle	29% (7)	35% (71)	56% (176)
Upper	0% (1)	37% (41)	67% (102)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.4

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND PARENTS' ESTIMATE OF HOW FAR BOY COULD GO IN SCHOOL IF HE TRIED HIS BEST

Percentages of Boys With High Goals

	Father's Estimate			
Family Social Class	High School	Junior College	4 or More Yrs. College	Don't Know
Lower Working	8% (13)*	6% (31)	16% (52)	4% (27)
Upper Working	4% (24)	6% (80)	29% (224)	12% (86)
Lower Middle	0% (18)	11% (65)	41% (299)	11% (47)
Upper Middle	0% (3)	10% (20)	53% (201)	29% (24)
Upper	0% (1)	30% (10)	62% (125)	36% (11)
	Mother's Estimate			
Lower Working	0% (12)*	6% (34)	21% (58)	8% (26)
Upper Working	6% (16)	3% (94)	26% (256)	17% (54)
Lower Middle	0% (12)	4% (46)	40% (317)	18% (45)
Upper Middle	0% (2)	8% (25)	56% (203)	42% (24)
Upper	0% (0)	29% (7)	61% (126)	36% (11)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.5

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND SCORES ON FAMILY CULTURAL LEVEL INDEX

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Family Cultural Level Score			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	6% (48)*	12% (68)	40% (10)	-- (0)
Upper Working	9% (79)	18% (234)	24% (101)	100% (2)
Lower Middle	20% (41)	33% (190)	36% (183)	56% (9)
Upper Middle	21% (14)	40% (93)	52% (128)	89% (18)
Upper	-- (1)	41% (32)	62% (99)	64% (11)

* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.6

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THEIR ASPIRATION

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Aspiration Scores				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Lower Working	3% (61)*	7% (15)	6% (18)	29% (24)	33% (15)
Upper Working	3% (148)	9% (103)	12% (49)	23% (75)	70% (63)
Lower Middle	7% (104)	10% (78)	26% (70)	44% (87)	72% (97)
Upper Middle	12% (33)	16% (37)	30% (44)	61% (76)	80% (71)
Upper	7% (15)	40% (10)	36% (22)	57% (42)	81% (58)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.7

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THEIR PERCEPTION OF THE ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Perceived Feasibility				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Lower Working	8% (79)*	13% (38)	17% (6)	33% (3)	60% (5)
Upper Working	11% (177)	19% (161)	31% (64)	18% (11)	37% (19)
Lower Middle	27% (110)	25% (168)	35% (74)	61% (33)	48% (46)
Upper Middle	30% (43)	41% (74)	51% (53)	62% (39)	64% (50)
Upper	42% (19)	58% (26)	46% (28)	59% (32)	73% (40)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.8

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THEIR ESTIMATE OF THEIR ABILITY

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Ability Estimate Score			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	2% (86)*	15% (41)	43% (14)	40% (5)
Upper Working	7% (211)	15% (145)	44% (88)	50% (28)
Lower Middle	6% (140)	7% (136)	56% (116)	74% (68)
Upper Middle	14% (42)	26% (91)	73% (96)	71% (42)
Upper	10% (10)	29% (35)	71% (68)	74% (34)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.9

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THE PRESTIGE LEVEL OF THEIR CHOSEN OCCUPATION

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Prestige Level of Chosen Occupation		
	Lowest Blue Collar	Intermediate White Collar	Highest White Collar
Lower Working	0% (18)*	10% (21)	20% (35)
Upper Working	0% (58)	10% (83)	38% (163)
Lower Middle	2% (42)	20% (59)	47% (201)
Upper Middle	0% (11)	13% (24)	64% (134)
Upper	0% (2)	33% (9)	67% (70)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.10

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY LOWEST PRESTIGE LEVEL OF OCCUPATION WITH WHICH THEY WOULD BE VERY SATISFIED

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Lowest Level Satisfactory Occupation		
	Lowest Blue Collar	Intermediate White Collar	Highest White Collar
Lower Working	7% (87)*	22% (9)	26% (27)
Upper Working	11% (204)	13% (62)	35% (127)
Lower Middle	23% (156)	36% (70)	42% (155)
Upper Middle	21% (63)	36% (44)	69% (118)
Upper	24% (25)	47% (19)	71% (72)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.11

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THE AMOUNT OF EDUCATION THEY THINK IS NEEDED FOR THEIR CHOSEN OCCUPATION

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Education Needed			
	Don't Know	Junior College or Less	4 years College	More than 4 years
Lower Working	14% (42)*	2% (59)	20% (25)	27% (15)
Upper Working	7% (89)	5% (176)	20% (109)	56% (91)
Lower Middle	24% (76)	6% (125)	27% (132)	71% (120)
Upper Middle	34% (44)	11% (45)	34% (85)	85% (94)
Upper	62% (21)	12% (17)	28% (29)	77% (78)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.12

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THE FAVORABILITY OF THEIR ATTITUDE TO PLANNING

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Attitude to Planning Score			
	1 (unfav.)	2	3	4 (fav.)
Lower Working	0% (6)*	5% (20)	13% (40)	16% (64)
Upper Working	0% (10)	3% (34)	16% (82)	21% (308)
Lower Middle	0% (11)	19% (27)	25% (73)	37% (317)
Upper Middle	67% (3)	22% (9)	41% (37)	51% (210)
Upper	33% (3)	29% (7)	50% (16)	61% (120)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.13

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THE EXTENT OF THEIR BELIEF THAT EFFORT IS REWARDED

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals				
	Belief that Effort is Rewarded				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Lower Working	--	25% (4)*	7% (14)	12% (42)	13% (71)
Upper Working	-- (1)	29% (7)	22% (59)	15% (151)	20% (217)
Lower Middle	-- (4)	44% (9)	31% (64)	28% (136)	36% (217)
Upper Middle	-- (1)	43% (7)	40% (30)	45% (94)	54% (122)
Upper	-- (1)	29% (7)	64% (14)	44% (34)	64% (86)

* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.14

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THEIR TRUST IN PEOPLE

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Trust Score			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	18% (40)*	13% (45)	4% (26)	10% (20)
Upper Working	14% (148)	20% (95)	11% (100)	32% (91)
Lower Middle	17% (133)	33% (89)	30% (91)	44% (114)
Upper Middle	36% (66)	42% (43)	46% (46)	61% (102)
Upper	49% (39)	55% (20)	65% (37)	59% (49)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.15

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENT DRIVE

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Achievement Drive Score			
	1, 2 (low)	3	4	5 (high)
Lower Working	5% (37)*	8% (37)	23% (31)	17% (24)
Upper Working	11% (141)	17% (136)	22% (83)	33% (63)
Lower Middle	20% (120)	24% (105)	38% (121)	52% (75)
Upper Middle	34% (65)	40% (67)	56% (75)	69% (48)
Upper	43% (35)	53% (45)	59% (34)	87% (23)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.16

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THEIR SELF-ESTEEM

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Self-Esteem Score			
	0, 1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	7% (27)*	16% (34)	10% (40)	16% (25)
Upper Working	11% (72)	13% (100)	21% (149)	29% (84)
Lower Middle	10% (60)	28% (90)	38% (152)	38% (99)
Upper Middle	19% (26)	39% (41)	54% (97)	64% (73)
Upper	57% (7)	26% (27)	66% (50)	65% (43)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.17

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR NON-UTILITARIAN ATTITUDE

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Non-Utilitarian Score			
Family Social Class	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	0% (16)*	13% (45)	17% (52)	6% (17)
Upper Working	12% (51)	17% (125)	16% (182)	32% (72)
Lower Middle	23% (40)	28% (132)	30% (166)	49% (82)
Upper Middle	33% (21)	41% (58)	29% (102)	62% (66)
Upper	40% (10)	53% (31)	49% (53)	68% (44)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.18

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR LIKING FOR SCHOOL

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals				
	Liking for School Score				
Family Social Class	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Lower Working	6% (17)*	10% (39)	13% (42)	12% (25)	7% (15)
Upper Working	2% (51)	11% (126)	20% (136)	29% (94)	39% (51)
Lower Middle	13% (62)	20% (113)	33% (134)	45% (99)	51% (43)
Upper Middle	29% (31)	36% (56)	44% (80)	61% (69)	77% (30)
Upper	68% (19)	41% (32)	61% (41)	61% (41)	50% (12)

* The number in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.19

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THE FAVORABILITY OF THEIR ATTITUDE TO THEIR TEACHERS

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Favorability of Attitude Score			
	1 (least)	2	3	4 (most)
Lower Working	13% (24)*	8% (51)	7% (47)	0% (12)
Upper Working	8% (62)	16% (172)	22% (163)	37% (46)
Lower Middle	20% (80)	28% (159)	33% (144)	60% (55)
Upper Middle	33% (49)	42% (86)	55% (100)	77% (26)
Upper	59% (27)	47% (45)	63% (51)	59% (17)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.20

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR CONFORMITY TO SCHOOL NORMS

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Conformity Scores			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	0% (11)*	6% (17)	10% (48)	14% (57)
Upper Working	4% (23)	5% (64)	20% (125)	25% (240)
Lower Middle	14% (22)	18% (44)	26% (136)	41% (238)
Upper Middle	27% (11)	23% (31)	35% (72)	60% (151)
Upper	33% (3)	40% (10)	58% (48)	60% (84)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.21

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THEIR CONCERN WITH GETTING GOOD GRADES (A's AND B's)

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Concern with Getting Good Grades			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Lower Working	35% (26)*	31% (54)	46% (37)	63% (16)
Upper Working	12% (43)	27% (179)	35% (134)	68% (79)
Lower Middle	9% (46)	28% (109)	34% (143)	62% (139)
Upper Middle	25% (16)	28% (53)	36% (66)	68% (126)
Upper	0% (5)	14% (21)	33% (36)	56% (84)

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* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.22

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THEIR AVERAGE GRADE IN SOLID SUBJECTS

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals		
	Grade Average*		
	Low	Intermediate	High
Lower Working	10% (62)**	7% (56)	17% (23)
Upper Working	7% (148)	13% (210)	45% (107)
Lower Middle	12% (111)	23% (200)	63% (134)
Upper Middle	21% (42)	35% (112)	71% (112)
Upper	31% (69)	37% (62)	81% (16)

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* Average grades were obtained from school records. The grade was the student's average for the preceding semester on solid subjects. In calculating the average, A's were given a weight of 5; B's 4, C's 3, D's 2, F's 1. An average of 2.4 or less is here characterized as "low," 2.5 to 3.4 as "intermediate," and 3.5 or higher as "high."

** The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.23

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER TWO BEST FRIENDS CONSIDER GOOD GRADES IMPORTANT

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals		
	Friends Think Grades Important		
Family Social Class	Neither Does	One Does	Both Do
Lower Working	8% (13)*	13% (39)	11% (72)
Upper Working	13% (39)	16% (119)	23% (266)
Lower Middle	9% (43)	30% (92)	37% (291)
Upper Middle	33% (21)	49% (43)	51% (189)
Upper	25% (8)	52% (23)	61% (110)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.24

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER TWO BEST FRIENDS GET GOOD GRADES

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals		
	Friends Get Good Grades		
Family Social Class	Neither Does	One Does	Both Do
Lower Working	10% (39)*	9% (53)	20% (30)
Upper Working	10% (125)	23% (172)	25% (127)
Lower Middle	18% (110)	30% (185)	50% (125)
Upper Middle	36% (125)	50% (100)	56% (80)
Upper	45% (29)	60% (57)	61% (51)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.25

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER THEY THINK THEIR TWO BEST FRIENDS WILL FINISH 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Friends Finish College		
	Neither Will	One Will	Both Will
Lower Working	12% (43)*	9% (54)	29% (14)
Upper Working	5% (133)	24% (187)	36% (85)
Lower Middle	14% (79)	31% (196)	50% (125)
Upper Middle	30% (40)	45% (100)	63% (98)
Upper	45% (11)	35% (51)	73% (71)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.26

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY COUNSELORS' EXPECTATION OF HOW FAR THEY WILL GO IN SCHOOL

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Counselor's Expectation		
	High School or Less	Junior College	Four Years College
Lower Working	11% (46)*	5% (38)	17% (46)
Upper Working	4% (86)	10% (125)	30% (238)
Lower Middle	12% (67)	14% (97)	44% (284)
Upper Middle	0% (20)	16% (44)	61% (199)
Upper	33% (9)	12% (25)	69% (109)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.27

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY TEACHERS' EXPECTATION OF HOW FAR THEY WILL GO IN SCHOOL

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	Teacher's Expectation		
	High School or less	Junior College	Four Years College
Lower Working	8% (51)*	4% (45)	26% (35)
Upper Working	5% (110)	12% (138)	32% (203)
Lower Middle	8% (73)	17% (115)	47% (260)
Upper Middle	9% (22)	15% (55)	63% (188)
Upper	11% (9)	20% (25)	68% (109)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.28

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY THEIR COUNSELORS' EVALUATION OF HOW FAR THEY COULD GO IF THEY TRIED THEIR BEST

Percentages of Boys with High Goals

Family Social Class	They Could Finish			
	High School	Junior College	4 Yrs. State College	4 Yrs. University
Lower Working	9% (81)*	21% (29)	5% (19)	0% (8)
Upper Working	7% (148)	13% (152)	27% (114)	49% (49)
Lower Middle	14% (108)	28% (125)	36% (137)	62% (74)
Upper Middle	24% (34)	28% (61)	48% (97)	79% (71)
Upper	20% (10)	25% (24)	53% (49)	80% (59)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.29

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND COUNSELORS' PREDICTIONS OF THEIR LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Predicted Level of Attainment			
Family Social Class	High School	Junior College	4 yrs. State College	4 yrs. University
Lower Working	10% (89)*	9% (34)	25% (8)	0% (4)
Upper Working	7% (185)	14% (174)	39% (76)	75% (24)
Lower Middle	16% (117)	25% (172)	46% (109)	74% (42)
Upper Middle	20% (40)	30% (82)	60% (92)	82% (49)
Upper	21% (14)	26% (31)	53% (54)	84% (43)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.30

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER A COUNSELOR HAS GIVEN THEM THE IDEA THEY ARE GOOD ENOUGH AT SCHOOL WORK TO FINISH 4 YEARS COLLEGE

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals	
	Given Idea Are Good Enough	
Family Social Class	No	Yes
Lower Working	10% (84)*	13% (54)
Upper Working	13% (219)	26% (230)
Lower Middle	21% (207)	43% (237)
Upper Middle	32% (95)	59% (169)
Upper	44% (54)	64% (90)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.31

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER ANY TEACHERS HAVE GIVEN THEM THE IDEA THEY ARE GOOD ENOUGH TO FINISH 4 YEARS COLLEGE

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals	
	Given Idea Are Good Enough	
Family Social Class	No	Yes
Lower Working	9% (85)*	13% (54)
Upper Working	10% (226)	28% (223)
Lower Middle	20% (203)	43% (242)
Upper Middle	38% (100)	56% (163)
Upper	52% (61)	60% (84)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.32

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER THEY ARE WHITE, BLACK, OR MEXICAN-AMERICAN

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals		
Family Social Class*	White	Black	Mexican-American
Lower Working	13% (69)**	13% (32)	6% (33)
Upper Working	19% (387)	15% (34)	19% (27)
Lower Middle	32% (425)	33% (12)	43% (7)

*Data are presented only for the three lower classes because there were almost no black or Mexican-American boys in the two upper classes.

**The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.33

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND PARENTS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals		
	Father's Religious Affiliation		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
Lower Working	12% (43)*	10% (61)	0% (0)
Upper Working	21% (179)	18% (170)	0% (6)
Lower Middle	30% (216)	30% (114)	58% (19)
Upper Middle	49% (149)	40% (60)	86% (7)
Upper	52% (81)	48% (23)	83% (12)
	Mother's Religious Affiliation		
Lower Working	14% (49)*	12% (58)	50% (2)
Upper Working	21% (203)	16% (170)	0% (7)
Lower Middle	34% (229)	26% (129)	61% (18)
Upper Middle	48% (159)	46% (67)	100% (5)
Upper	57% (88)	52% (23)	78% (9)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.34

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THE NUMBER OF THEIR SONS' FRIENDS PARENTS THINK HAVE HAD A BAD INFLUENCE ON THEIR SCHOOLWORK

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals			
	Father's Estimate of Number of Friends			
Family Social Class	None	One	Two	Three or More
Lower Working	11% (81)*	18% (11)	0% (10)	6% (18)
Upper Working	24% (246)	22% (65)	13% (30)	7% (58)
Lower Middle	35% (254)	29% (65)	27% (45)	21% (57)
Upper Middle	55% (163)	45% (33)	33% (21)	16% (25)
Upper	56% (101)	89% (9)	54% (13)	45% (20)
	Mother's Estimate of Number of Friends			
Lower Working	14% (83)*	20% (15)	14% (7)	0% (21)
Upper Working	24% (250)	16% (70)	13% (32)	8% (61)
Lower Middle	38% (271)	25% (44)	26% (35)	21% (66)
Upper Middle	56% (169)	39% (33)	56% (18)	20% (30)
Upper	59% (101)	73% (11)	55% (11)	42% (19)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.35

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND THE NUMBER OF THEIR SONS' FRIENDS PARENTS THINK HAVE HAD A GOOD INFLUENCE ON THEIR SCHOOLWORK

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys With High Goals			
	Father's Estimate of Number of Friends			
	None	One	Two	Three or More
Lower Working	7% (57)*	0% (13)	21% (14)	15% (34)
Upper Working	18% (171)	17% (46)	20% (40)	24% (137)
Lower Middle	23% (167)	32% (44)	30% (56)	41% (144)
Upper Middle	45% (91)	33% (27)	44% (25)	56% (96)
Upper	46% (46)	61% (18)	50% (16)	65% (60)
	Mother's Estimate of Number of Friends			
Lower Working	17% (47)*	5% (19)	0% (17)	15% (41)
Upper Working	14% (158)	21% (57)	18% (50)	24% (145)
Lower Middle	23% (136)	28% (57)	27% (59)	45% (160)
Upper Middle	43% (89)	45% (38)	44% (18)	58% (104)
Upper	50% (48)	63% (19)	42% (12)	66% (59)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.36

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER A COUNSELOR HAS GIVEN THEM THE IDEA THEY ARE NOT GOOD ENOUGH AT SCHOOL WORK TO FINISH 4 YEARS COLLEGE

	Percentages of Boys with High Goals	
Family Social Class	Given Idea Not Good Enough	
	Yes	No
Lower Working	10% (40)*	12% (94)
Upper Working	14% (78)	21% (370)
Lower Middle	18% (91)	37% (354)
Upper Middle	27% (44)	53% (222)
Upper	33% (24)	62% (120)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.37

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER ANY TEACHERS HAVE GIVEN THEM THE IDEA THEY ARE NOT GOOD ENOUGH AT SCHOOL WORK TO FINISH 4 YEARS COLLEGE

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals Given Idea Not Good Enough Yes	 No
Lower Working	6% (49)*	14% (87)
Upper Working	11% (128)	22% (322)
Lower Middle	15% (119)	39% (326)
Upper Middle	23% (52)	55% (213)
Upper	29% (31)	64% (113)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 4.38

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS WITH HIGH GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY WHETHER THEY THINK THAT IN THIS COUNTRY EVERYONE HAS THE SAME CHANCE TO GET AHEAD

Family Social Class	Percentages of Boys with High Goals Same Chance No	 Yes
Lower Working	12% (69)*	13% (64)
Upper Working	12% (181)	23% (257)
Lower Middle	30% (151)	33% (284)
Upper Middle	42% (92)	52% (166)
Upper	57% (37)	58% (109)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

CHAPTER 5

DETERMINANTS OF CONCORDANCE OF BOYS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND GOALS

This chapter analyzes--theoretically and empirically--conditions associated with concordance of boys' educational aspirations and goals. Concordance (agreement) is said to exist when both aspirations and goals are either relatively high or low.[1]

Analysis of these conditions is significant because it deals with the question of the relationship between how much education boys would like (their aspirations) and how much they actually attain or are strongly motivated to attain (their educational goals).[2] This relationship is a problem in the adjustment of working-class boys to their life situation and to their position in the stratification system. Many of these boys may aspire to a college education (as Chapter 7 suggests their parents are likely to do), but given the relatively low income of their parents and the likelihood that they are performing poorly in school, they may see a college education as unfeasible. It would be valuable to know the circumstances under which these boys finally decide either that they can obtain a college education or that they must try to establish their future via alternative routes of advancement.

Simply because the concepts of educational aspirations and goals are clearly distinguished from each other, both theoretically and empirically, our research formulation offers a modest advance beyond the many studies of educational goals which fail to differentiate between these two concepts.[1] The importance of the distinction is demonstrated both by this chapter's data and by the discussion in other studies which do differentiate educational aspirations and a number of concepts similar to goals (such as plans and expectations.)[2] These studies, by and large, point out that discrepancies can (theoretically) and do (empirically) exist between students' aspirations and goals, but they do not attempt to account for them systematically beyond (a) observing that goals are likely to be lower than aspirations if students believe they lack the opportunity to reach the position they would like, and (b) showing that the lower students' social-class position (or other determinant--such as ability--of educational opportunity), the greater the discrepancies between their aspirations and goals.[3] The need for further theoretical work, however, becomes clear when the impact of this last finding is considered. This is aptly stated by Holloway and Berreman.[4]

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[1] Boys are said to have "high" aspirations if their scores fall in the two highest categories of our aspirations scale; all other categories are treated as representing "low" aspirations. Boys said to have "high" goals are those scoring in the two highest categories on the goal scale. (Both measures are described in detail in Appendix A.)

[2] That is, we are dealing peripherally with the classical problem in social psychology of specifying when a person's attitudes are likely to become his deeds. The concept of aspirations indicates boys' educational values--the level of educational attainment they rate most highly--while educational goals, as we have measured them (see Appendix A) can be expected to approximate closely boys' actual educational accomplishment. The practical or "action-research" consequences of this chapter's topic follow directly from its theoretical significance: given that students see college education as desirable, how do they become motivated to achieve it? How does one facilitate correspondence between their aspirations and goals?

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[1] See, among others, Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Libset (Eds.), Class, Status and Power, Free Press, New York, 1966, pp. 488-499; William H. Sewell, et. al., "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, February, 1957, pp. 67-73; Alan B. Wilson, op. cit. For more recent studies, see William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Social Class, Parental Encouragement, and Educational Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 73, March, 1968, pp. 559-572; Denise B. Kandel and Gerald S. Lesser, "Parental and Peer Influences on Educational Plans of Adolescents, " American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, April, 1969, pp. 213-223.

[2] See Richard M. Stephenson's "Mobility Orientations and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, April, 1957, pp. 204-212; Robert G. Holloway and Joel V. Berreman, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Male Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, Vol. 2, Fall, 1959, pp. 56-60; Noel P. Gist and William S. Bennett, Jr., "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, Vol. 42, 1964, pp. 40-49; Frances G. Caro and C. Terence Pihlblad, "Aspirations and Expectations: A Reexamination of the Basis for Social Class Differences in the Occupational Orientations of Male High School Students," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 49, July, 1965, pp. 465-475; Richard A. Rehberg, "Adolescent Career Aspirations and Expectations: Evaluation of Two Contrary Stratification Hypotheses," Pacific Sociological Review, Fall, 1967, pp. 81-90; and Aubrey Wendling and Delbert S. Elliott, "Class and Race Differencials in Parental Aspirations and Expectations, Pacific Sociological Review, Fall, 1968, pp. 123-133.

[3] See Holloway and Berreman; Gist and Bennett; Caro and Pihlblad; Wendling and Elliott, all op. cit.

[4] Holloway and Berreman, op. cit. p. 56.

> If . . . aspiration level is the result of differential socialization within class subcultures, we should find differences in aspiration between middle and lower classes . . . . If, on the other hand, aspirations do not differ between classes, we may infer that the class differences observed in earlier studies resulted from the measurements of plans (i.e., goals) rather than aspirations, and plans represent aspirations that have been scaled down on the basis of perception of life chances. On the basis of this theory, we should expect, when we differentiate aspirations from plans, to find aspirations essentially equal . . . .[1]

Because, however, we distinguish between the aspirations and goals of both parents and boys, we are able to clarify some of the problems Holloway and Berreman describe. We make a case in Chapter 7 for the proposition that parents' educational aspirations for their sons are uniformly high throughout the spectrum of social classes--but that their goals for them vary with class position. And in Chapter 6 we are able to demonstrate that boys' aspirations are strongly influenced by parents' educational goals, but presumably relatively little by the latter's aspirations. Parents' aspirations are determined by the instrumental value they impute to higher education. This value derives from day-to-day experiences of their own rewards and life chances as compared to those of others having more or less education. Since boys lack this experience, they can be said to have relatively little awareness of the instrumentality of a college education apart from what they are told by their parents. Since the amount of education parents urge their sons to get is, by definition, based on their own educational goals (rather than aspirations), we conclude that sons' aspirations are influenced by social class, while those of parents are not.[2]

The Relationship of Perceptions of Feasibility to Concordance of Boys' Aspirations and Goals

The general proposition tested in this chapter is that concordance between boys' aspirations and goals will be determined by how feasible the realization of their aspirations seems to them. We assume that high aspirations are a necessary but not sufficient condition for boys' setting high goals; given high aspirations, high perceptions of feasibility are a sufficient condition for high goals. Thus:

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[1] However, this does not necessarily imply that aspirations will be the same in all social classes. Empey, in an interesting study, found differences in the absolute level of occupational success desired by respondents from different social classes; but, relative to the social positions of their fathers', all respondents had high aspirations. See LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, December 1956, pp. 703-709.

[2] This point suggests the need for caution in interpreting studies of boys' aspirations and goals in which data are drawn from parents' reports. Some of the conflicting findings in this area may result from not separating studies employing sons' own reports from those using parents' responses, to determine sons' aspirations and goals. In this connection, see our findings in Chapter 8.

(1) High aspirations are likely to become high goals under conditions of high feasibility.

(2) On the other hand, high aspirations that seem difficult to fulfill should be less likely to eventuate in high goals.

(3) When aspirations are low, but achieving a college education seems feasible, boys' setting high goals becomes even less likely.

(4) Given both low aspirations and the perception that finishing college is not feasible, high goals are least likely.

The ordering of categories (2) and (3) is dictated by our fundamental assumption that high aspirations are a necessary condition for the setting of high goals. This order is supported by most of the data in the chapter.[1]

Of course, the intensity with which aspirations are held by students in these two categories could also affect the likelihood of their setting high goals. Someone whose high aspirations were held with great intensity might be motivated to revise upward his estimates of low feasibility, thereby increasing the probability of his setting high goals. Conversely, the greater the intensity with which a student in the low-aspiration/high-feasibility category holds his low aspirations, the less likely he would be to set high goals.

We summarize below the predicted relationships between boys' educational aspirations, perceptions of feasibility, and the likelihood of having high educational goals.

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[1] It could be argued, however, that students whose aspirations are low, but whose feasibility of finishing college seems high, would be more likely to have high goals than boys in the high-aspirations/low-feasibility category. This could follow from the supposition that boys with high aspirations and low feasibility estimates would, if they set high goals, be subject to more personal conflict and stress than would those in the former category. Intuitively at least, a boys' setting high goals seems almost irreconcilable with his also believing that he cannot complete college: at one and the same time he is committing himself to work toward completing college while also concluding that he cannot accomplish this endeavor. On the other hand, the low-aspirations/high-feasibility student could easily persuade himself that he really would like a college education--particularly if he lacks definite alternatives, would like a period in which to be relatively free from responsibility, or would like to postpone or avoid the draft. Although this argument seems plausible, it is nonetheless unsupported by the findings.

Boys' Educational Aspirations	Boys' Perceptions of Feasibility	Probability of High Educational Goals
High	High	1 (Highest)
High	Low	2
Low	High	3
Low	Low	4 (Lowest)

Some parallels to our formulation of the relationship between the concepts of educational aspirations, perceptions of feasibility of securing a college education, and the probability of boys' setting high educational goals warrant mention. Reviewing the literature on social motivation[1] Berkowitz finds the proposition that an "action will win out over alternatives to the extent that it has a greater subjectively expected utility than do the alternatives,"[2] to be a central assumption in decision-making theory. This proposition is similar to our notion that high aspirations are a necessary condition for boys' setting high educational goals: the more instrumental value (utility) boys attribute to a college education, the more likely it is that their aspirations will be high. Our notion also parallels Atkinson's assumption[3] that the subjective utility of an action will increase with "the incentive value of success" in that activity. And our idea that high perceptions of feasibility increase the likelihood of boys' setting high goals corresponds to Atkinson's proposition that people are more likely to engage in activities in which they think they will be successful than in those where success seems less likely.

The Findings

A brief description of the format in which this chapter's data are presented will inform the reader of the logic of our analysis and simplify descriptions of each of the tables. All tables have in common three variables: (1) family social class[4], (2) boys' educational aspirations (high or low), and (3) the percentages of boys whose educational goals are high.[1]

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[1] Leonard Berkowitz, "Social Motivation," in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Addison-Wesley, Menlo Park, 1968, pp. 50-135, especially pp. 79-83.

[2] Ibid, p. 79.

[3] J. W. Atkinson, "Motivational Determinants of Risk-Taking Behavior," Psychological Review, Vol. 64, 1957, pp. 359-372.

[4] Three social-class categories--instead of the five used elsewhere in the Report--are used in this chapter in order to obtain adequate cell frequencies. The three categories are the working class (combining lower- and upper-working classes), the middle class (lower-middle class), and the upper class (upper middle- and upper classes combined). See Chapter 2 for details of the measure of social class we employed.

The fourth variable in each table will be the one whose association with concordance between aspirations and goals is being examined. All of these independent variables, in our estimation, are aspects or determinants of the extent to which boys will see a college education as feasible. In short, this chapter's data will show, given boys' level of aspiration, how their perceptions of feasibility affect the chances of their setting high goals.

Family social class is held constant to control, first, for parents' influence on boys' aspirations,[2] and second, for the effects of family resources on boys' perceptions of feasibility. The tables will show, at each level of boys' aspirations and of the independent variable under consideration, that the higher their family social class, the more likely boys are to set high goals.

Two other correlations seen in all the tables should also be mentioned at this point. First, with both social class and the given independent variable controlled, the higher boys' aspirations, the more likely they are to have high goals. This supports the relationship our model postulates between these two factors. And second, holding constant social class, a relationship is generally found between boys' aspirations and each of the independent variables. The notion that perceptions of feasibility may affect aspirations would seem to be supported by this latter finding.

Academic Feasibility of a College Education

Table 5.1 shows the consequences for concordance of boys' average grade (in solid subjects such as mathematics and English); Table 5.2 shows the effects of their estimates of how far they can go in school. These tables are discussed together because of the substantial correlation found between school grades and such estimates.[3] This correlation suggests that boys' conceptions of their academic ability are based on their school grades. Boys' estimates of the academic feasibility of a college education are directly indicated by how far they think they could go in school if they did their best. Because of the correlation between these estimates and grade averages, we expect the data in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 to show similar patterns: namely, at a given level of aspiration, the higher the estimate of ability (or average grade), the more likely it is that boys' goals will be high. With only one exception, this prediction is confirmed in both tables.

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[1] See Footnote 1 on page 1 of this chapter for the description of high and low aspirations and high goals.

[2] See Chapter 6.

[3] These data are not presented.

In Table 5.1 we see that the boys least likely to have high goals are those with low aspirations and low grades; the ones most likely to have high goals are boys with high aspirations and high grades. But when their aspirations are high and grades are low, boys are more likely to have high goals than when aspirations are low and grades are high. This finding occurs in all three social classes, and could signify that boys strongly holding high aspirations might not see or might disregard the implications of their low grades: given intensely held aspirations, boys with low grades may still have high estimates of how far they can go in school.

In Table 5.2 we note that those least likely to have high goals are boys with low aspirations and low estimates of their ability.[1] However, boys with high aspirations and low estimates of their ability--contrary to prediction--are less likely to have high goals than those with low aspirations and high estimates of their ability. Finally, the boys with high aspirations and high estimates of their ability are those most likely to set high goals.[2]

Perceived Economic Feasibility of a College Education

Table 5.3 shows the relationship between boys' estimates of the economic feasiblity[3] of their completing 4 or more years of college and agreement between their aspirations and goals. One may speculate that, given high aspirations, boys' estimates of economic feasibility would be less strongly related to the likelihood of their having high goals than their estimates of academic ability; the impact of the former is based on a more problematic set of assumptions. Students are immediately confronted by their school grades and, hence, their own experience in this area can directly affect their judgment of their academic ability. But evaluations of how economically feasible it is to complete college rest on what would seem to be second-hand experience: a knowledge of parents' resources. In some families, this may be a private matter between parents. But even boys whose parents are relatively open about their finances may be unsure about all the demands--and their priorities--on family income. Since one would expect this uncertainty to be greater in the lower social classes, we would predict that, given high aspirations, the effects of estimates of economic feasibility on the chances of boys' having high goals will be greater for upper-class boys than for those of working class background.

This prediction is supported by the data of Table 5.3. In the upper class, and both for boys with high and low aspirations, high goals are consistently more likely as estimates of economic feasibility increase.

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[1] See Appendix A for the description of the measure of this variable.

[2] The proportion of boys with high aspirations and high estimates of their academic ability who have high goals is roughly the same in all social classes--about 87 percent.

[3] The scale measuring boys' estimates of economic feasibility is described in Appendix A.

But for working-class boys, this relationship is either absent or questionable. For boys in this social class with low aspirations, there appears to be no association between estimates of economic feasibility and the percentages of boys having high goals. The number of working-class boys having high aspirations and also scoring at the higher end of the economic feasibility scale is too small to permit reliable inferences from the observed percentages.[1] It should also be noted that there is less of an association between estimates of economic feasibility and the probability of high goals for lower middle-class boys than for those in the upper class. This holds true for boys with both high and low aspirations.

As with the preceding variables, it can be seen in Table 5.3 that the boys with the smallest probability of having high goals are those with low aspirations and low perceived economic feasibility of obtaining a college education. This is true in all social classes--as is the finding that boys most likely to have high goals are the ones with high aspirations and high perceived feasibility. And, as predicted, the probability of high goals is appreciably greater in all social classes for boys with high aspirations and low estimates of feasibility than it is for the low-aspiration/high-feasibility group.

Self-Esteem

We regard self-esteem as a person's evaluation of his overall worth. Consequently, the individual with high self-esteem should be confident of his ability to do well in diverse areas of activity.[2] Given a high educational aspiration, we would expect boys with high self-esteem to be more likely to think they could finish 4 or more years of college than someone whose self-esteem is low.

Self-esteem may be viewed as a less specific variable than boys' estimates of their academic ability. High estimates of academic ability can serve specifically as an impetus toward boys' setting high educational goals: "Since I'm so good in school," they may think, "why shouldn't I go to college?" But since high self-esteem implies high evaluations of competence in diverse areas, boys with high self-esteem but low aspirations may decide not to attend college--believing that, whatever alternative paths they pursue, they will be successful.

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[1] In all social classes there are relatively few boys with low aspirations and high economic feasibility estimates, leading one to conclude--as confirmed by data not presented here--that boys' aspirations are correlated with their estimates of economic feasibility. This finding peripherally supports our contention that boys' aspirations are substantially determined by parents' educational goals, and that the latter are strongly influenced by parents' estimates of economic feasibility.

[2] See Stanley Coopersmith The Antecedents of Self-Esteem, W. H. Freeman, San Francisco, 1967, Chapter 3; Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965, Chapters 11 and 12; and Wilbur B. Brookover, et. al., Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement, Bureau of Educational Research Services, East Lansing, 1965, Chapter 1.

The relation between boys' self-esteem scores[1] and concordance of their aspirations and goals is shown in Table 5.4. For boys with low aspirations, self-esteem is associated with the likelihood of high goals only in the lower middle class. But the higher the self-esteem of boys with high aspirations, the greater the probability of their having high goals:[2] if college is favorably evaluated, boys with high levels of self-esteem will think themselves more likely to succeed at it than those with lower levels.

The data of Table 5.4 provide further evidence about boys whose aspirations and feasibility estimates are not in accord: high aspirations prevail over over low feasibility (as indexed by low self-esteem scores). In all social classes, boys with high aspirations and low self-esteem scores are substantially more likely to have high goals than those with low aspirations but high self-esteem scores.

Achievement Drive

Most studies of achievement drive use the concept to denote a propensity to excell in situations involving standards that can be used to evaluate performance.[3] That is, achievement drive is assumed to orient one toward doing well, but no definite area of achievement is specified. We think boys' achievement drive reflects an aspect of their self conception relating to the capacity and persistence they will employ to get what they desire. Because the questions used as indicators of this concept in our study[4] were asked in a context of questions dealing with school behavior and performance, we believe our achievement drive scores represent boys' inclination to do well in the area of education.

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[1] See Appendix A for our measure of self-esteem.

[2] The consistency of this relationship is broken in all social classes by the fact that boys with the lowest self-esteem scores do not have the lowest probability of having high goals. Since there are few boys with these lowest scores (two in the upper class, seven in the lower middle class, and 17 in the working class), this deviation would seem to be due to chance.

[3] See Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," Virgina C. Crandall, "Achievement Behavior in Young Children," and Bernard C. Rosen and Roy G. D'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," all in B.C. Rosen, et al. (Eds.), Achievement in American Society, Schenkman, Cambridge, 1969. Also, D. McClelland, et al., The Achievement Motive, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1953.

[4] See Appendix A for the questions.

Given the generally high evaluation of college education in American society, and the assumption that achievement drive inclines someone to attain the highest standard possible, we hypothesized that boys scoring high on achievement drive would be more likely than those with lower scores to set high educational goals. Given high aspirations, then, we expect achievement drive to lead to high goals.[1]

Table 5.5 shows the relationship between boys' achievement drive scores and the probability of their having high goals. For boys with high aspirations, the pattern at all social-class levels is clearly as predicted: the higher boys' achievement drive scores, the higher the percentages of boys who set high goals. For boys with low aspirations, there is no meaningful association between boys' achievement drive scores and the probability of their setting high goals.

Like the data on self-esteem, the data on achievement drive show that the combination of high aspirations and low feasibility (i.e., low achievement drive scores) is more likely to be associated with boys setting high goals than is the combination of low aspirations and high feasibility. This is the case, quite markedly, in all social classes.

Liking for School

We assume that, given the opportunity, people do what they like. No further discussion is needed to generate the hypothesis that, other things being equal, boys who like going to school will be more apt to have high educational goals than those who don't like it.

And it might be supposed that boys who like school are more likely than those who don't to consider it feasible to extend their education through 4 or more years of college: they can be expected to be more able to tolerate the demands that schools make on them. Assuming further that the higher their social class, the greater the opportunity boys will have to finish college, we can generate this prediction: the effects of liking for school on concordance of boys' goals and aspirations should vary positively with family social class. None of this is surprising. What is surprising, however, is how the data fall.

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[1] "Given high aspirations" is crucial. Knowing that a person has high achievement drive in no way permits predictions about his behavior until the area of his standards of excellence is known. If a boy with high achievement drive does not evaluate college favorably, he is not likely to set high goals or want to do well in college; rather, he will strive to be good at something else he likes. This important assumption seems to be missing from McClelland's thesis that the "achievement motive" should be correlated with economic growth and capitalism. As we see it, this relationship should occur only in societies whose dominant values emphasize economic growth--because achievement drive directs one to that which is valued. See D. C. McClelland, The Achieving Society, Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1961.

Table 5.6 shows the relationship between boys' scale scores on liking for school[1] and the concordance of their aspirations and goals. In the upper class, for boys with high as well as with low aspirations, liking for school is not associated with the probability of having high goals. Nor is any association found between liking school and goals for boys with high aspirations in the lower middle class. The very slight relationship in the case of working-class boys with high aspirations could be due to chance. But for boys with low aspirations in the working and lower middle classes, there is some association between the extent to which they like school and their chances of having high goals. We can provide no explanation for these findings.

The data of Table 5.6 again show that high goals are more strongly associated with high aspirations and low feasibility (liking for school) than with the low-aspirations/high-feasibility category. This is clearly so in the lower middle class and in the upper class. There is one deviation from the pattern in the working class.[2]

Parents' Educational Goals

Parents with low educational goals, by definition, give their sons little encouragement to commit themselves to a college education. Those with high goals, on the other hand, can be expected to stress continually their sons' talent and play up their success in high school. Independent of the effects of parents' goals on sons' aspirations,[3] this should result in the sons of such parents having more confidence in themselves as potential college students than those whose parents have low goals. This confidence should result, at a given level of aspirations, in boys' being more likely to set high goals.

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[1] See Appendix A for a description of the scale.

[2] This exception occurs for boys having high aspirations and the lowest score on their liking for school. But there are only eight boys in this category.

[3] Since Chapter 6 shows that parents' goals strongly affect their sons' aspirations, we need here to indicate the relationship of parents' goals only to boys' estimates of feasibility. It would expedite matters to maintain that parents' and boys' estimates of feasibility were in line, but the data presented earlier in this chapter on boys' estimates of their academic ability (Table 5.2) suggest that parents give more weight to economic factors than do their sons when estimating the son's feasibility of finishing college. We should also note that, theoretically, if boys' and parents' estimates of feasibility were the same, no discordance between the former's aspirations and goals could be predicted, since boys' aspirations are quite likely to be at the same level as their parents' goals.

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show the relation of fathers' and mothers' goals to concordance between boys' aspirations and goals.[1] The expected association between the goals of both parents and sons' aspirations is present; boys' aspirations and goals are also correlated. And with but a few reversals, we find that the higher the goals of fathers and mothers, the more likely their sons are to have high goals. This holds for lower middle- and upper-class boys--regardless of whether they have high or low aspirations. For working-class boys, however, fathers' goals (Table 5.7) are related only to the goals of boys with high aspirations,[2] but mothers' goals are associated with sons' goals regardless of the latter's aspirations.

Summary

This chapter has examined the relationship between concordance of boys' educational aspirations and goals and a number of factors that represent, or could affect, their perceptions of the feasibility of obtaining a college education. These data thoroughly support the proposition that holding high aspirations serves as a necessary condition of boys' setting high goals; and, furthermore, given high aspirations, that the more favorably boys view their chances of finishing college, the more likely they are to set high goals. Most likely to set high educational goals are boys with high aspirations and high estimates of feasibility. Boys with low aspirations and low estimates of feasibility, by contrast, are least likely to have high goals. Lastly, the data also consistently support the hypothesis that boys in the high-aspirations/low-feasibility category are more likely to set high goals than those with low aspirations and high estimates of their chances of finishing 4 or more years of college.

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[1] See Appendix A for the measure of parents' goals.

[2] There is one deviation in this pattern of association.

TABLE 5.1

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS,[1] WITH BOYS GROUPED BY THEIR FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND THEIR AVERAGE GRADE

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations[2]	Boys' Average Grade		
		Low	Intermediate	High
Lower and Upper Working	Low	4% (151)[3]	6% (170)	12% (58)
	High	28% (36)	30% (71)	62% (63)
Lower Middle	Low	5% (78)	13% (121)	35% (37)
	High	38% (21)	45% (67)	75% (90)
Upper Middle and Upper	Low	9% (32)	22% (83)	37% (38)
	High	48% (21)	52% (82)	85% (136)

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[1] In this and subsequent tables of the chapter, boys are said to have "high" goals if they fall in the two highest categories on the goal scale. (See Appendix A for a description of the scale.)

[2] Boys having "high" aspirations are those in the two highest aspiration score categories. All other boys are said to have "low" aspirations.

[3] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.2

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY THEIR FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND ESTIMATES OF THEIR ACADEMIC ABILITY

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Estimates of Ability Scores			
		1 (Low)	2	3	4 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	2% (216)[*]	9% (117)	0% (19)	21% (28)
	High	4% (24)	25% (72)	56% (45)	88% (32)
Lower Middle	Low	2% (94)	12% (91)	22% (23)	42% (36)
	High	6% (18)	27% (48)	72% (46)	86% (70)
Upper Middle	Low	6% (31)	18% (67)	45% (31)	27% (22)
	High	13% (8)	39% (62)	84% (73)	87% (97)

[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.3

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY THEIR FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND THEIR ESTIMATES OF THE ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY OF A HIGHER EDUCATION

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Economic Feasibility Scores				
		1 (Low)	2	3	4	5 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	3% (193)[*]	8% (125)	18% (40)	0% (8)	0% (10)
	High	34% (56)	37% (71)	50% (28)	50% (6)	77% (13)
Lower Middle	Low	10% (68)	13% (103)	15% (40)	21% (14)	22% (18)
	High	56% (41)	45% (62)	63% (32)	89% (19)	67% (27)
Upper Middle	Low	13% (30)	20% (49)	21% (29)	31% (16)	35% (26)
	High	55% (31)	69% (48)	68% (50)	71% (51)	82% (61)

[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.4

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY THEIR FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Self-Esteem Scores 1 (Low)	2	3	4	5 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	5% (20)[*]	2% (51)	7% (97)	6% (125)	9% (69)
	High	35% (17)	20% (10)	33% (36)	43% (63)	55% (40)
Lower Middle	Low	0% (14)	0% (30)	12% (52)	18% (80)	20% (54)
	High	43% (7)	38% (8)	53% (38)	62% (71)	64% (44)
Upper Middle	Low	17% (6)	22% (9)	14% (29)	25% (59)	22% (32)
	High	50% (2)	31% (16)	49% (39)	79% (87)	81% (84)

[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.5

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY THEIR FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENT DRIVE SCORES

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Achievement Drive Scores 1 (Low)	2	3	4	5 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	11% (37)[*]	3% (100)	6% (124)	7% (72)	4% (45)
	High	27% (11)	25% (28)	37% (49)	49% (41)	55% (42)
Lower Middle	Low	6% (33)	10% (50)	10% (69)	19% (62)	16% (25)
	High	42% (12)	50% (24)	51% (35)	58% (59)	71% (49)
Upper Middle	Low	30% (10)	22% (46)	16% (43)	21% (39)	38% (16)
	High	47% (17)	59% (27)	64% (69)	77% (70)	85% (54)

[*] The numbers in the parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.6

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND THEIR LIKING FOR SCHOOL

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Liking for School Scores: 1 (Low)	2	3	4	5 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	4% (50)*	3% (115)	7% (104)	9% (66)	16% (32)
	High	0% (8)	40% (32)	44% (57)	42% (43)	48% (33)
Lower Middle	Low	2% (45)	11% (71)	15% (72)	24% (44)	20% (10)
	High	64% (11)	50% (36)	60% (50)	61% (54)	63% (30)
Upper Middle	Low	24% (29)	16% (45)	30% (40)	25% (32)	17% (6)
	High	80% (15)	61% (41)	66% (73)	75% (75)	77% (35)

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* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.7

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND THEIR FATHERS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR THEM

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Fathers' Educational Goals: 1 (Low)	2	3	4	5 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	2% (133)*	5% (64)	15% (53)	15% (40)	0% (8)
	High	32% (22)	60% (15)	43% (35)	50% (50)	68% (22)
Lower Middle	Low	3% (62)	8% (37)	3% (38)	33% (55)	43% (14)
	High	30% (10)	46% (13)	50% (28)	54% (54)	76% (50)
Upper Middle	Low	9% (23)	7% (27)	14% (35)	36% (39)	43% (14)
	High	50% (4)	25% (8)	59% (34)	68% (84)	82% (89)

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* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 5.8

PERCENTAGES OF BOYS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS, WITH BOYS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS, AND THEIR MOTHERS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR THEM

Family Social Class	Boys' Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Educational Goals				
		1 (Low)	2	3	4	5 (High)
Lower and Upper Working	Low	1% (140)[*]	7% (90)	12% (60)	12% (52)	33% (6)
	High	20% (10)	26% (27)	28% (39)	52% (56)	69% (29)
Lower Middle	Low	0% (53)	13% (40)	4% (48)	28% (58)	43% (14)
	High	50% (8)	47% (17)	38% (29)	52% (60)	82% (57)
Upper Middle	Low	7% (30)	15% (20)	20% (41)	29% (45)	73% (11)
	High	40% (5)	44% (9)	71% (48)	63% (79)	86% (86)

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[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

CHAPTER 6

THE QUALITY OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS AND CONCORDANCE BETWEEN PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND THEIR SONS' ASPIRATIONS

Parents' educational goals for their sons are a major determinant of the aspirations and goals of their sons.[1] Not all children, however, are influenced by the level of education their parents would like--or want--them to attain. This chapter deals with the significant problem of what conditions account for differences among children in their receptivity to the influence exerted on them by their fathers and mothers. We believe the answer to the question is to be found in the quality of the parent-child relationship. This chapter, accordingly, addresses itself to the hypothesis that the more positively sons evaluate their parents, the greater the probability of concordance between the educational goals of the parents and the educational aspirations of the sons.

We will first explain why we chose to investigate agreement between parents' goals and boys' aspirations. We will then discuss the significance of the problem treated in this chapter. We then present the theoretical basis for the hypothesis studied. The remaining part of the chapter reports the empirical tests of the hypothesis.

The Choice of Sons' Aspirations

Our investigation focusses on the correspondence between parents' educational goals and sons' educational aspirations for a number of reasons. Since their educational goals reflect the level of education parents want for their children--how much education they are motivated to see them get--parents' efforts at influencing their sons' educational futures will be based on their own goals rather than their aspirations.[2]

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[1] See Chapters 4 and 5.

[2] We argue in Chapter 7 for the assumption that the great majority of parents have high educational aspirations. It could be inferred from this assumption--in relation to the problem treated in this chapter--that parents with low goals nonetheless have high aspirations, which might in turn influence their sons' aspirations. We believe, however, that this is not likely to occur because parents with high aspirations and low goals would not be motivated to foster high aspirations in their sons. If they were to do so, such parents would be encouraging their sons to value something the parents have concluded they cannot attain. It, therefore, should be stressed that when, in the course of this chapter's discussion, we refer to parents' values, we have in mind values parents actually communicate to their sons, and these, in most instances would parallel their goals.

Whether to choose--as we did--sons' educational aspirations, instead of their goals, as the indicator of parental influence on their children, required that we weigh each variable's positive and negative contributions to our research objective.[1] The major task this posed was choosing between the variable that provided a stronger demonstration of family influence (sons' goals) and the variable (sons' aspirations) which yielded a "purer" indication of this influence.

Because students' educational goals--we reasoned--presupposed their motivation to attain a certain level of education, the choice of their goals seemed appropriate: by definition, the concept of high educational goals entails students' wanting to obtain a college education. Consequently, showing concordance between parents' goals and sons' goals would constitute a stronger demonstration of family effects: it would show that fathers and mothers influence not only what their sons would like educationally (their aspirations), but also the level of education they want and plan to attain (their goals).

But students' educational aspirations would seem to be "purer," even if more restricted, indicator of family influence. To the extent that students may evaluate the feasibility of completing college differently than their parents, they could agree with their parents about how much education they would like but not hold educational goals similar to their parents. If one assumes that the sources of this parent-child differential perception of feasibility lie outside the family,[2] use of students' goals would tap not only family influences on their educational plans, but other influences as well. We, consequently, concluded that it would be preferable to use aspirations, rather than goals, for investigating parent-child agreement.

Significance of the Study of Parent-Child Concordance

This chapter's topic is important not only for the immediate, and limited, interests of the present Report, but also for more far-reaching theoretical concerns in the field of socialization. First, since the data of Chapter 3--and the findings of many other studies--indicate that his family influences a student's aspirations and goals to a much greater extent than the type of school he attends, it follows that in order to more fully understand the determinants of students' aspirations, we must identify and clarify the many ways in which the family exerts its influence. Moreover, this task points up the theoretical relevance of our investigation of parent-child concordance. Most treatments of socialization assume that the family transmits the values of the culture it represents to its children. These treatments, however, rarely specify--or study empirically--the conditions which facilitate this transmission. The present chapter articulates one such condition usually implicitly assumed--the nature of the child's relationship to his parents. Without the family's persistent ability to sustain positive relations between parents and children, we think it doubtful that the young would accept the work and ways of the old.[1]

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[1] It should be said that our concern with the choice between aspirations and goals was perhaps more a matter of the theoretical import of the issue rather than of its empirical consequences. Because of the high correlation between boys' aspirations and goals, as shown in Chapter 5, our findings probably would be very similar for either variable. In the case of the parents--since we had no measure of their aspirations--we had no option about which variable to employ.

[2] This is a plausible assumption, since communication and interaction within the family would put pressure on sons to share their parents' assessment of feasibility, and, hence disagreement would seem to require some external source of support.

Theoretical Grounds for the Concordance Hypothesis

This chapter's guiding hypothesis, it will be recalled, is that the more positively sons evaluate their parents, the greater the probability of concordance between the educational goals of the parents and the educational aspirations of the sons. The purpose of this section is to show how this hypothesis is consistent with more general propositions that have been developed in the study of (a) conformity, (b) attitude influence and change, (c) social perception, and (d) evaluation, interaction, and status. This consistency lends credibility to our hypothesis; the test of the hypothesis, in turn, provides further support for the more general propositions from which the hypothesis can be derived.

Conformity Theory

The process through which sons' aspirations and parents' educational goals come to concordance may be viewed as an instance of conformity. This concept views the family situation as one in which, due to their lack of experience, sons are uncertain of a particular facet of social reality: how much education they would like.[2] Their parents' goals are, however, relatively fixed. And parents, moreover, may be putting pressure on sons to accept their definitions of the situation; i.e., to like what their parents want.

This concept allows us to consider the following proposition: the greater the attractiveness of a group to a person, the more likely he is to conform to the group's values and goals.[3] This implies that the more positively sons evaluate their parents--and, hence, the more attractive they seem--the more likely sons are to conform to their parents' educational values (i.e., to accept parents' goals as their own aspirations).

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[1] This is why revolutionary changes in societies require, to some degree, the alienation of the young from their parents.

[2] See Solomon E. Asch, Social Psychology, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1952, Chapter 16.

[3] Vernon L. Allen presents a good deal of evidence to support this proposition in his "Situational Factors in Conformity," in Leonard Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 2, Academic Press, New York, 1965.

Attitude Influence and Change (Persuasion)

This concept differs in two important respects from the conformity formulation.[1] Sons' uncertainty about the level of education they would like to attain is *not* assumed, and it *is* assumed that sons are being influenced freely, and not, as is possible in a conformity situation, against their will.

McGuire cites and presents evidence for two dimensions of "source-valence" (properties of the source of a message that affect the likelihood of its being accepted) relevant to our hypothesis.[2]

a. The more attractive the source of the message the more likely

Thus, the more positively sons evaluate their parents, the more likely they are to accept their educational values.

b. The more credible the source of the message, the more likely it will be persuasive.

Thus, we assume that the more parents are perceived as showing concern for their sons' interests and regard for their autonomy the more likely they are to be respected and, hence, the more credible they will appear. Consequently, the greater the probability that their sons will be persuaded to accept their educational values.

Social Perception (Balance Theory)

Heider's well-known balance theory[3] predicts that if a person (p) positively evaluates some other person (o), who is seen as positively evaluating some other person or object (x) with whom he is associated, then p will tend to like x. These relations are said to be cognitively balanced. This is not the place to elaborate on Heider's theory. For our present purpose, we will simply note that it follows from Heider's theory that if students evaluate their parents positively and perceive them as valuing a college education, then the students should also tend to value it. Similarly, given students who do not value a college education but whose parents do, it follows that these students will be in a state of stressful imbalance if they evaluate their parents positively. This imbalance can be eliminated if the students accept what their parents value. The situation described here is probably not uncommon.

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[1] McGuire, in his review of types of attitude change situations, covers both conformity and persuasion, but treats each separately. See William J. McGuire, "The Nature of Attitude and Attitude Change," in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 3, Addison-Wesley, Menlo Park, 1968.

[2] McGuire, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-193.

[3] See Fritz Heider, "Attitudes and Cognitive Organization," *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 21, 1946, pp. 107-112, and *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*, Wiley & Sons, New York, 1958, Chapter 7.

Evaluation, Interaction and Status

The final theory from which our hypothesis can be derived is developed in Homans' work.[1] Briefly, the theory generates our hypothesis as follows: the more positively the child evaluates his parents, the more likely he will interact frequently[2] with them, and communicate with them. The more he communicates with his parents, the more likely the child is to be aware of their educational values; consequently, given positive evaluation of his parents, it is highly probable that he will come to share these values.

We have shown that several theories provide support for our hypothesis that the more positively sons evaluate their parents the more likely it is that sons' aspirations will correspond to parents' goals. Before going on to the tests of the hypothesis, it should be emphasized that although we are assuming that parent-child concordance can signify that children have been influenced by parents, we recognize that concordance also can and does occur independently of children's feelings for their parents. The evidence for this can be seen in all the test tables to be presented. These tables reveal a marked association between parents' goals and sons' aspirations--regardless of the quality of the parent-child relationship. This finding does not falsify the proposition that concordance is more likely when parents are positively evaluated, but it does indicate that students' educational values may be significantly influenced by the same conditions that have determined their parents' goals.

Tests of the Concordance Hypothesis

In presenting the data on the tests of the concordance hypothesis, we examine the relationship between parents' goals and their sons' aspirations. The former are either high or low, but in the case of the latter the analysis is limited to those with high aspirations. Parents' goals and sons' aspirations are measured by scales described in detail in Appendix A. These scales provide a ranking of persons on the variables they represent. Parents described as having high goals are those with scale scores of either 4 or 5; those with low goals have a score of 1 or 2. Boys described as having high aspiration scores have scale scores of either 4 or 5. These are roughly equivalent to the high goal scores of parents but differ markedly from the low goals.

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[1] George C. Homans, Human Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, Harcourt, Brace, & World, New York, 1961, Chapter 10.

[2] That is, assuming they treat him in a democratic way, and do not emphasize too strongly their parental status, and thereby create a communications gap.

We are restricting the analysis of the data to these particular categories--omitting parents with intermediate goals[1] and boys with low and intermediate aspirations--for two reasons. First, to test the concordance of parents' goals and sons' aspirations at all levels of goals and aspirations would involve a much more complicated empirical analysis. Second, and more important, is the theoretical consideration that the quality of the parent-child relationship would be especially crucial for parents with high goals. These are parents who, in terms of our measures, want their sons to finish 4 or more years of college and who feel strongly about it. We, therefore, posit that their transmission of goals is successful if their sons have high aspirations which, again in terms of our measures, signifies they would like to have 4 or more years of college and feel this strongly. Parents with low goals are, in effect, the control group for our tests of the concordance hypothesis. These parents are not attempting to motivate their sons to obtain a higher education, and, therefore, are not trying to persuade them about its value. Consequently, when parents have low goals, it is not expected that sons' positive or negative evaluation of their parents will be related in any systematic way to the likelihood of their having high aspirations.

The data will be presented in three segments.[2] The first includes what, at the outset, we considered to be the three most direct indicators of sons' evaluations of their parents. The second considers items that describe the autonomy granted the children by their parents. The third segment is concerned with items that portray the harmony of the parent-child relation.

Direct Indicators of Sons' Evaluation of Parents

The three indicators examined here are variables measured by scales.[3] The scales are "Identification with Parents," "Perception of Parents as Helpful," and "Perception of Parents as Reinforcing Self-Esteem."

Identification with parents

We interpret this scale variable as a measure of the extent to which sons would like to be the kinds of persons their parents are. So construed, it would appear to be our most direct indicator of sons' evaluation of their parents. (It follows, intuitively, that the greater the child's identification with parents, the more likely he is to share the values of the parent.) The higher their scores on this scale, the more favorably boys are presumed to evaluate their parents, since positive evaluation would seem to be a necessary precondition for identification. (It seems a contradiction in terms to want to be like someone you don't like.) It then follows from our hypothesis that the greater sons' identification with parents, the more likely they are to share their values.

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[1] This reduces considerably the total number of cases on which the data analysis of this chapter is based. The smaller totals can be noted in all the chapter's tables.

[2] It is very probable that the variables in the three segments are correlated in varying degrees. This remains to be investigated.

[3] See Appendix A for the items and other scale details.

Parents' helpfulness

Boys' scores on the variable, Perceptions of Parents Helpfulness, will also indicate their evaluations of their fathers and mothers.[1] This can be inferred from the assumption that persons who are regarded as helpful to someone will be liked by that person.[2] Students' needs are undoubtedly high at the time of adolescence--when they are at the end of their tenth grade in high school--for information and guidance in making career decisions, as well as for coping with the problems of maturation. To the extent that boys perceive their parents as a source of help with their problems, the parents should be positively evaluated. Limiting conditions for such evaluation would seem to be that parents' advice is seen as suggestive, rather than coercive; that it be truly responsive to their sons' questions and needs, rather than dogmatic; and that it not be overprotective or overwhelm the child's autonomy.

Parents' reinforcement of self-esteem

Assuming that persons evaluate highly those who give them favorable evaluations (that is, assuming that liking is a symmetrical relationship),[3] it follows that parents seen as reinforcing their sons' self-esteem will be evaluated more highly by their sons than parents not seen as doing so.[4] The Parents' Reinforcement of Self-Esteem scale also links this section of the chapter with the next, which treats sons' autonomy. Assuming that the higher a person's self-esteem, the more likely he will be able to exercise autonomy, then the more parents are seen as reinforcing self-esteem, the more likely they will be seen as extending and encouraging their sons' autonomy.

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[1] Although less directly than the Identification variable.

[2] This assumption is supported by a theoretical analysis of the relation between a person's dependence and his giving high status to those on whom he is dependent. See Richard M. Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations," in Carl W. Backman and Paul F. Secord (Eds.), Problems in Social Psychology, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966.

[3] For some evidence supporting this point, see Rober B. Zajonc, "Cognitive Theories in Social Psychology," in Lindzey and Aronson (Eds.), Vol. 1, op. cit.

[4] This follows because one's self-esteem is thought to be a product of the evaluations he receives from others (Cooley's "looking-glass self" or Mead's "taking the role of the other"). Thus, if a parent reinforces his son's self-esteem, he is frequently evaluating him highly; and, assuming symmetry of liking, he should, in turn, be highly evaluated. See Morris Rosenberg, op. cit.

Data analysis and findings

Tables 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 show the percentages of boys with high aspirations when they are classified by their parents' goals (low or high) and, respectively, by their scores on the scales measuring Identification with Parents, Parents' Helpfulness, and Parents' Reinforcement of Self-Esteem. Our hypothesis predicts that the higher the scores on each of the scales, the greater the probability that sons of parents with high goals will have high aspirations; it further predicts relatively little or no association between these scale scores and boys' aspirations for sons of parents with low goals.

This prediction is borne out by the data. For both parents, when their goals are high and identification, helpfulness and esteem reinforcement scores are high, the percentages of sons having high aspirations are considerably larger than when the scale scores are low. Furthermore, as predicted, for parents whose goals are low, there is no consequential association between any of the three scale scores and the proportions of sons having high educational aspirations.[1] The difference noted here between high- and low-goal parents in the association of the scale scores and boys' high aspirations will also be observed in subsequent tables.

Autonomy Given Sons

Autonomy is a crucial factor in adolescence.[2] Psychologically, adolescence is a period of insecurity in which youth are searching for "ego-identity"[3]--a sense of their strengths and potentials, of their future course within the social system. It is a time, therefore, when youth need to stand on their own in order to assess their unique "whoness." And this period of decision-making is linked with the social structure's confronting youth with models of roles to emulate, cultural values and symbols to accept.[1] This search--first for an "inner" identity, a knowledge of their inclinations and dispositions, and how these differ from those of others, and then for an appropriate place in the social structure for this identity--is thus a major part of adolescents' experience in modern society.

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[1] The findings on helpfulness and reinforcement of esteem for parents with low, as well as high, goals is consistent with results obtained in a study of eighth-grade boys and girls. See Wallin and Waldo, op. cit., pp. 125-131.

[2] See Erik H. Erikson, "Youth: Fidelity and Diversity," and S. N. Eisenstadt, "Archetypal Patterns of Youth," in Erik H. Erikson (Ed.), The Challenge of Youth, Anchor Books, New York, 1965.

[3] See Erikson, loc. cit., p. 13. Also Kenneth Keniston, "Social Change and Youth in America," in Erikson, ibid., p. 211.

If the foregoing assumption about the importance of autonomy to adolescents is valid, it follows that, to the extent that parents support and encourage this autonomy--and maintain democratic, rather than authoritarian relationships with their sons--they will be favorably evaluated. They will be seen as contributing to their sons' development. Thus, the discussion of parents' helpfulness is applicable to our indicators of parents' encouragement of autonomy: the more helpful the parent is seen to be, the more likely he is to be positively evaluated. And, consequently, we would expect that the greater the indications of encouragement of their autonomy, the higher the probability of sons having high aspirations.[2] Before examining the data we present a brief discussion of our autonomy measures.

Is the son encouraged to think for himself?

If encouragement of autonomy is defined as "permitting the child to exercise a certain amount of freedom of action in decision-making,"[3] then sons' responses to the question of whether their parents like them to think things out for themselves (or go along with what the parents think) will indicate how much autonomy they are given, since thinking for oneself is obviously exercising freedom in decision-making.

How much freedom is son given?

Similarly, responses to the item "Does your father (mother) give you more or less freedom than he (she) did 2 or 3 years ago?" will, on the item's face value, evidence parents' encouragement of autonomy. The item indicates whether parents recognize their sons' maturation by according them greater freedom and autonomy.

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[1] See Eisenstadt, loc. cit., pp. 32-34.

[2] We argue that parents' encouraging autonomy will increase the likelihood of sons' accepting their educational values. We are not arguing that autonomy, per se, will increase sons' desire for educational achievement. That it may even impede the desire may be inferred from Rosen and D'Andrade's study of achievement. They found that mothers of boys who scored high in need for achievement did not allow their children much autonomy in decision-making. See Bernard C. Rosen and Roy G. D'Andrade, "The Psycho-social Origins of Achievement Motivation," in B.C. Rosen et. al. (Eds.), Achievement in American Society, Schenkman, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 55-84. On the other hand, Elder in a cross-national study, found "educational attainment negatively related to the degree of parental dominance in adolescence." See Glen H. Elder, "Family Structure and Educational Attainment: A Cross-National Analysis," in Life Cycle and Achievement in American Society, Rose L. Coser (Ed.), Harper and Row, New York, 1969.

[3] This definition is from Rosen and D'Andrade, op. cit.

Do parents explain reasons for their rules or decisions?

We assume that the more parents explain the reasons for their decisions,[1] the more respect they have for their sons' individuality and autonomy. Rather than acting authoritarianly, stating rules and expecting unquestioned obedience, parents who give the reasons for their decisions supposedly permit their sons more democratic participation in family activities. Such parents would be perceived as recognizing their sons' right to challenge rules or decisions affecting them.

Autonomy scale

The three preceding indicators, along with responses to an additional question, yielded a scale which allows students to be ranked from low to high on their perception of the autonomy granted them by their parents.[2] The added question was, "When something has to be decided between you and your father (mother) how is it done most of the time?"[3] This question clearly has much in common with the items already discussed.

Data analysis and findings

The association between the indicators of sons' perceived autonomy and the likelihood of their having high educational aspirations is shown in Tables 6.4 through 6.7. The form of these tables is the same as that of the three preceding ones. Boys are divided into groups on the basis of parents' goals (low or high) and sons' values on each of the autonomy variables. For each of the groups thus formed, the tables give the percentage of boys with high aspirations.

The data for parents with high educational goals show that the more autonomy sons report they are given, the more likely they are to have high aspirations. This holds for fathers and mothers. The association in some instances is small, and for one indicator (Table 6.5, Amount of Freedom Granted by Parents) involves a difference between a category having very few cases (less freedom) and all others. Nonetheless, the direction of association is consistent with the hypothesis for all indicators.

For parents with low goals, there is only one exception to the expectation that no relation would be observed between the autonomy variables and the probability of boys' having high aspirations. The exception is the slight positive association between the amount of freedom given sons by fathers with low goals (Table 6.5) and the latter's chances of having high aspirations. As noted above, this association is based on differences between a small group of boys (those reporting that fathers give them less freedom than they used to) and all others. As with the positive finding on this item for parents with high goals, the finding for parents with low goals may not be reliable.

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[1] The question asked was, "When you don't know why he (she) decides something for you, or has some rules for you to follow, will he (she) explain the reason?"

[2] See Appendix A for the details of the scale.

[3] Responses ranged from, "He (she) just tells me what to do." to "He (she) lets me do what I want, no matter what his (her) opinion is."

Harmony of the Parent-Child Relationship

In using indicators of parent-child harmony to test our concordance hypothesis, we are making the assumption that the more harmonious a relationship, the more positively each person evaluates the other. Discord generally results from disagreements in values; when agreement prevails, both parties--under certain circumstances[1]--come to like each other. Since the more positively the son evaluates his parents, given that they have high goals, the more likely he is to have high aspirations. Thus, the more harmonious his relationship with his parents, the greater the probability of a son's having high aspirations. Moreover, the more harmonious the relationship, the more likely interaction between persons will be mutually satisfying, and--assuming that persons are motivated to seek satisfying relationships--the more likely interaction is to occur frequently. And, the more frequently two parties interact, the more likely their values are to converge.

The indicators of parent-child harmony were boys' responses to two questions: (a) How do you get along with your father (mother) most of the time? and (b) How often do you have disagreements with your father (mother)? These two indicators of the harmony of the parent-child relationship have face validity, and require little comment. Clearly, if sons think they get along well, and rarely disagree with their parents, harmonious relations probably prevail.

Data analysis and findings

Tables 6.8 and 6.9 show the relationship between the two indicators of harmony of parent-child relationships and the probability of sons having high aspirations. As in the previous tables, the boys are classified by their parents' goals (low or high) and the boys' values on the harmony variables.

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[1] The restriction on this proposition is that one party is not seen by the other as exercising control or authority--that both parties think they are interacting as relative "equals" (see George C. Homans, The Human Group, Harcourt, Brace & World, New York, 1950, p. 116). This implies that for sons to come to share their parents' values, they cannot think they are being treated authoritarianly. Thus, another proposition concerning the nature of the parent-child relationship suggests itself: the more the child perceives his parents as authoritarian (i.e., the less autonomy the son is given), the less likely he will be to share his parents' educational values.

When parents have high goals, the better sons get along with them, and the less frequently sons disagree with them, the more likely it is that sons will have high aspirations. This relationship is straightforward and substantial for mothers. It also holds for fathers in Table 6.9 (frequency of disagreements). The finding for the indicator, how well sons get along with their fathers (Table 6.8) is more equivocal: the proportion of sons who report getting along poorly and having high aspirations is roughly the same as that of boys who report they get along pretty well or very well with their fathers. In view of the small number of sons who state they get along poorly with their fathers, this finding may due to chance.

When parents have low goals, it can be seen that the indicators of parent-child harmony dealt with in Tables 6.8 and 6.9 have no meaningful pattern of association with the probability that boys will have high aspirations.

Summary

Before evaluating the tests of our concordance hypothesis, we wish to reiterate an important observation made above, the evidence for which is apparent in all of the tables of the chapter. We refer to the fact that, independently of any of the indicators of the quality of the parent-child relationship used in the study, boys are more likely to have high educational aspirations when their parents have high, rather than low, goals for them. Indeed, parents' goals have a more marked association with their sons' high aspirations than does the quality of the relationship of parents and sons. As pointed out earlier, however, this does not invalidate our argument on the consequences for parents' transmission of educational values when they are positively or negatively evaluated by their children. But it does attest to the powerful influences which shape the values of parents and children independently of the nature of their relationship to each other.

As for the tests of our assumption that concordance of parents' goals and their sons' aspirations is more probable when parents are favorably evaluated, it can be said that in general the findings are consistent with the hypothesis.[1] The hypothesis is consequently supported both by our empirical evidence and by the theories with which it was shown to be compatible.

One reservation about the findings should be called to the attention of the reader. This is the fact that a number of the variables which we assumed to be measures of boys' evaluation of their parents were found to be correlated with social class.[1] Although the correlations are small, since concordance of parents' goals and sons' aspirations is also somewhat related to social class,[2] our findings on the effects of the parent-child relationship on concordance could be reflecting the influence of some other variables which are indexed by social class. Demonstrating that this is not the case requires showing that the association between the indicators of the nature of the parent-child relationship and concordance holds within each of the social classes. Theoretically, we would expect this result, since we cannot think of any reason why the quality of the parent-child relationship should not have the same consequences for concordance in all social classes. Further analysis of our data will determine the validity of this assumption.

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[1] For a similar finding in a more limited test of the hypothesis, see Wallin and Waldo, op. cit.

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[1] Data not presented.

[2] Data not presented.

TABLE 6.1

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND SONS' IDENTIFICATION WITH PARENTS

Fathers' Educational Goals	Identification with Father			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Low*	11% (83)*	16% (51)	17% (78)	16% (116)
High	47% (55)	59% (66)	76% (100)	70% (296)
Mothers' Educational Goals	**Identification with Mother**			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Low	10% (105)**	16% (94)	17% (129)	17% (109)
High	46% (96)	70% (100)	71% (172)	72% (207)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

**Parents with intermediate goals are omitted in this and subsequent tables.

TABLE 6.2

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND EXTENT TO WHICH PARENTS ARE SEEN AS HELPFUL

Fathers' Educational Goals	Evaluation of Fathers' Helpfulness				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Low	9% (65)*	16% (57)	18% (104)	18% (67)	11% (28)
High	49% (53)	68% (85)	64% (146)	74% (135)	74% (87)
Mothers' Educational Goals	**Evaluation of Mothers' Helpfulness**				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Low	16% (91)*	13% (139)	15% (109)	13% (63)	24% (34)
High	58% (86)	62% (146)	70% (180)	68% (112)	80% (49)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.3

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY REINFORCE SONS' SELF-ESTEEM

Fathers' Educational Goals	Fathers' Reinforcement of Sons' Self-Esteem			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Low	14% (64)*	14% (73)	16% (99)	15% (87)
High	47% (61)	70% (92)	66% (149)	75% (206)

Mothers' Educational Goals	Mothers' Reinforcement of Sons' Self-Esteem					
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5	6 (high)
Low	30% (27)*	4% (69)	11% (125)	13% (97)	33% (66)	12% (52)
High	54% (39)	54% (70)	62% (112)	71% (119)	71% (165)	78% (79)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.4

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND SONS' REPORTS OF WHETHER PARENTS LIKE THEM TO THINK FOR THEMSELVES

Fathers' Educational Goals	Father Likes Son to Think for Himself	
	No	Yes
Low	17% (106)*	15% (219)
High	60% (111)	69% (402)

Mothers' Educational Goals	Mother Likes Son to Think for Himself	
	No	Yes
Low	18% (123)*	15% (309)
High	57% (155)	71% (424)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.5

PERCENTAGES OF SONS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND SONS' REPORTS OF WHETHER PARENTS GIVE THEM MORE OR LESS FREEDOM NOW THAN TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO

Fathers' Educational Goals	Amount of Freedom Reported for Fathers			
	Less	Same	A Little More	Much More
Low	5% (19)*	14% (42)	15% (110)	17% (159)
High	17% (6)	64% (33)	67% (160)	69% (321)

Mothers' Educational Goals	Amount of Freedom Reported for Mothers			
	Less	Same	A Little More	Much More
Low	18% (17)*	0% (33)	13% (120)	18% (268)
High	42% (12)	63% (38)	65% (153)	69% (382)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.6

PERCENTAGES OF SONS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PARENTS ARE REPORTED TO EXPLAIN THE REASONS FOR THEIR RULES

Fathers' Educational Goals	Frequency Reported for Fathers				
	Never	Once in a While	Occasionally	Most of the Time	Always
Low	13% (23)*	22% (65)	14% (72)	15% (104)	10% (68)
High	32% (22)	61% (75)	72% (65)	68% (191)	73% (170)

Mothers' Educational Goals	Frequency Reported for Mothers				
	Never	Once in a While	Occasionally	Most of the Time	Always
Low	10% (21)*	16% (104)	12% (75)	15% (135)	18% (102)
High	41% (29)	59% (82)	57% (74)	69% (217)	76% (184)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.7

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND AMOUNT OF AUTONOMY PARENTS GRANT THEIR SONS

Fathers' Educational Goals	Autonomy Granted By Father				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Low	15% (71)*	20% (66)	18% (84)	8% (60)	12% (49)
High	59% (76)	67% (90)	71% (163)	66% (108)	73% (84)
Mothers' Educational Goals	**Autonomy Granted By Mother**				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Low	13% (46)*	18% (65)	12% (123)	18% (111)	15% (93)
High	57% (53)	61% (84)	69% (181)	69% (140)	70% (124)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.8

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND SONS' REPORTS OF HOW THEY GET ALONG WITH PARENTS

Fathers' Educational Goals	Son's Report of How He Gets Along With Father			
	Poorly	Not Too Well	Pretty Well	Very Well
Low	24% (17)*	24% (25)	12% (140)	15% (149)
High	67% (15)	40% (20)	64% (206)	72% (282)
Mothers' Educational Goals	**Son's Report of How He Gets Along With Mother**			
	Poorly	Not Too Well	Pretty Well	Very Well
Low	20% (10)*	20% (30)	14% (200)	16% (201)
High	40% (15)	40% (30)	67% (221)	70% (321)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 6.9

PERCENTAGES OF SONS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, WITH SONS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND THE REPORTED FREQUENCY OF DISAGREEMENTS WITH THEM

Fathers' Educational Goals	Reported Frequency of Disagreements With Father				
	All the Time	Most of the Time	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
Low	19% (16)*	11% (38)	18% (171)	13% (93)	0% (15)
High	43% (14)	43% (44)	69% (303)	73% (143)	68% (19)
Mothers' Educational Goals	**Reported Frequency of Disagreements With Mother**				
	All the Time	Most of the Time	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
Low	21% (14)*	14% (50)	16% (289)	12% (82)	33% (6)
High	53% (19)	54% (61)	69% (383)	67% (113)	72% (11)

*The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

CHAPTER 7

DETERMINANTS OF PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR THEIR SONS

A number of studies concerned--like ours--with accounting for variation in the amount of education desired or planned by high school students have demonstrated a substantial association between the orientation of students and that of their parents.[1] Despite the importance of this finding, however, very little research has been undertaken to investigate the determinants of the educational aspirations and goals which mothers and fathers have for their children.[2]

Knowledge of these determinants has both practical and theoretical relevance. Its practical significance is that in order to influence students' educational goals--currently an issue of great urgency for disadvantaged minority groups--it is necessary because of the central role they play in determining their children's level of educational attainment.

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[1] See among others: Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Common Man Boys," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 18, June, 1953, pp. 232-242; David J. Bordua, "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces, Vol. 38, March, 1960, pp. 262-269; John R. Christiansen, James D. Cowhig, and John W. Payne, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of High School Seniors in Three Central Utah Counties," Social Science Research Bulletin, No. 1, Brigham Young University, Salt Lake City, 1961; Richard L. Simpson, "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization, and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, August, 1962, pp. 517-522; Gerald D. Bell, "Processes in the Formation of Adolescents' Aspirations," Social Forces, Vol. 42, December, 1963, pp. 179-186; Robert E. Herriott, "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspiration," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 33, 1963, pp. 157-177; Edward L. McDill and James Coleman, "Family and Peer Influences in College Plans of High School Students," Sociology of Education, Vol. 38, Winter, 1965, pp. 112-126; Richard P. Boyle, Causes, Correlates, and Consequences of College Aspirations Among Iowa High School Seniors, Iowa Urban Community Research Center, 1966; William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Social Class, Parental Encouragement, and Educational Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 73, March, 1968, pp. 559-572; Denise B. Kandel and Gerald S. Lesser, "Parental and Peer Influences on Educational Plans of Adolescents," American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, April, 1969, pp. 213-223.

[2] See J. A. Kahl, op. cit.; Elizabeth Cohen, "Parental Factors in Educational Mobility," Sociology of Education, Vol. 38, 1965, pp. 405-425; William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Parents' Education and Children's Educational Aspirations and Achievements," American Sociological Review, Vol. 33, April, 1968, pp. 191-209; Aubrey Wendling and Delbert S. Elliott, "Class and Race Differentials in Parental Aspirations and Expectations," Pacific Sociological Review, Fall, 1968, pp. 122-133. See, too, the various surveys cited by Herbert Hyman in "The Value Systems of Different Classes," Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Eds.), The Free Press, 1953, pp. 426-442.

"Parental goals" as a subject of inquiry is theoretically significant because of its relation to two major problems in the area of social stratification. The first question is how a person's position in society affects his values and the ends he seeks to achieve for himself and his children. The second concerns the extent to which a society's stratification is perpetuated. Clearly, to permit widespread upward mobility,[1] societies must contain mechanisms that allow continual diffusion of success values (such as, for example, high educational aspirations)--as well as resources needed to realize them--throughout its strata. But a relatively "closed" society is not likely to show this diffusion: values and differential resources representative of the various strata, in such societies, usually remain comparatively unchanged from generation to generation.

These two general problems concern the more specific questions raised by Merton[2] and Hyman[3] among others, of whether the aspiration for success is uniformly distributed in the various strata in American society. Hyman's thesis is that "the lower class individual doesn't want as much success, knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to, and doesn't want what might help him get success."[4] This thesis and evidence bearing on it is quite central to our consideration of the determinants of parents' educational goals for their sons.

With one striking exception,[5] the few studies made of parental aspirations or goals have shown a correlation between these factors and parents' social class. But there are two serious limitations to this finding. First, some inquiries obtaining this result failed to differentiate clearly--or not at all--between the concepts of aspiration and goal. Therefore, it is difficult to be certain about which concept their results pertain to. That this differentiation is important will be shown below. At this point all that need be said is that we will attempt to establish that social class probably influences parents' goals for their children much more than their aspirations.

Second, granted even that parents' aspirations and goals are conceptually and operationally distinguished, the finding that one or the other is influenced by social class fails to identify the operative variables in the relationship. Social class indexes a wide variety of factors and it would be desirable to know the independent effects of the more important of these factors on parents' aspirations and goals. For example, does a father's occupational level *as such* influence his orientation to his son's education, does the amount of a father's education or his income, *of themselves*, influence his aspirations and goal? And do these factors have different effects on the aspiration and goal? And what processes explain whatever gross relations are observed? To answer these, and related questions, would require among other things, distinct measures of parental aspirations and goals, and analysis of their association (a) with parents' education while controlling occupational level, and (b) with occupational level when education is controlled.

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[1] That is, for sons in all strata to attain positions with more prestige than those of their fathers.

[2] See Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1949, Chapter 4.

[3] See Hyman, *op. cit.*

[4] The means of success here referred to is primarily education.

[5] See A. J. Jaffee and Walter Adams, "College Education for U.S. Youth: The Attitudes of Parents and Children," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, July, 1964, pp. 269-284. This study is discussed below.

Our treatment of the subject in the present study only partially overcomes the limitations touched on above. It represents a modest advance on prior studies by its differentiation of parents' aspirations and goals, and in the specification of how they are linked. Our data, however, pertain only to parental goals. We did not collect data on parents' aspirations because we assumed that the tenth-grade boys we were studying would have difficulty in reporting reliably on how far their parents *would like* them to go in school; i.e., their aspirations. Insofar as the distinction between the two concepts which we make below is valid, we would expect that tenth graders would be more certainly aware of parents' goals than aspirations, since it is their goals that the mothers and fathers would be articulating. This consideration aside, however, it should be said that we did not intend the research described in this report to be a study of parents' attitudes to their sons' education. The focus of the research was the determinants of boys' educational goals, and the important measure this called for in regard to parents--as will shortly be shown--was a measure of their goals, rather than their aspirations, for their sons.

Since much of the argument, and the data associated with it, in this chapter rests on our discussion of parents' aspirations and goals, we had best proceed to it. Following this discussion we can more easily convey to the reader what we propose to do in the rest of this chapter.

The Distinction Between Aspirations and Goals[1]

Parents' "aspirations" refers to the level of education parents "*would like*" for their children; it thus refers to a conditional state. Parents' "goals," on the other hand, denote the educational level parents "*want*" for their children; this state is definite, decided, and relatively final. It is the level of education which parents are motivated to have their children achieve and which, in turn, they try to motivate their children to attain.

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[1] This distinction parallels that made earlier between boys' aspirations and goals. See Chapters 1 and 5

The concepts of educational aspiration and goal can be thought of as constituting a two-stage process. In the first stage, parents assimilate or develop a view of a given level of education (e.g., college graduation) for their sons as an attainment they would or would not like for them. Higher education may be seen as valuable and desirable for their children because it is so represented in the larger society or in sub-groups which influence the importance parents attach to education. Or higher education, or the lack of it, may have affected parents' own lives. But whatever its source, at this stage parents can be said to have an attitude with respect to how much education they would like their sons to have. And this we designate as their aspiration. In effect, it is their answer to the question: If there were nothing to stop him, how far would we like our son to go in school? But the first phrase of the question already implies that parents appreciate that certain factors must or could temper their initial decision about how much education they would like for their children.

In the second stage of the formation of parents' orientation to their children's education, parents' aspirations interact with their assessment of the feasibility of their achievement. This eventuates in the goals which they have for ther sons--the educational level they want them to attain and, in fact, set for them to attain. Parents' perception of the feasibility of their sons' realizing their aspiration is of crucial importance in the formation of parental goals. This perceived feasibility is in two dimensions: economic and academic.

High aspirations will not tend to become high goals unless their achievement is seen by parents as economically feasible and as realistic relative to their son's ability. This, then, leads them to have high goals. Other parents with identical aspirations may end with goals that are lower than their aspirations. And others may feel so strongly about their aspirations that their view of the feasibility of their fulfillment is badly distorted, leading them to set high goals for sons who cannot possibly attain them. On the other hand, given intense high aspirations, some parents may be deeply motivated to "make them come true." Working class parents, for example, may save and sacrifice to ensure the economic feasibility of a college education for their sons. The intensity of their high aspirations, therefore, may lead some parents to do everything they can to influence their level of feasibility.

For some parents, aspirations and goals appear to be temporarily inseperable. This occurs with parents who acquire or develop high aspirations early, and take it for granted that nothing could block their realization. The aspiration thus more or less automatically becomes the goal. This is probably common among many middle- and upper-class families.[1] It is probably uncommon, however, in the experience of working-class parents with high aspirations for their children. These parents can hardly fail to appreciate that their economic status or their children's level of academic performance may prove their high aspirations to be unrealistic. Their final evaluation of these and other considerations will determine whether their high aspirations become high goals or whether the goals are scaled down to what is judged to be a more feasible level. It should be noted that the latter's occurrence could lead in turn to a lowering of aspirations as well. This would be expected from individuals who find it less stressful to believe that what they can achieve is what they would like.

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[1] Some of these families register their sons at birth for enrollment in elite "prep" schools.

There are, of course, also parents having relatively low educational goals for their children, which immediately follow a low aspiration. Most of these parents--presumably from the working class--may rule out, almost as a reflex action, the feasibility of a college education for their sons, thereby blocking the emergence of high aspirations for them. Other parents, whose experience has not impressed them with the value of a college education, may not even have considered the question of its feasibility. Here, too, aspiration and goal appear to be temporarily inseparable.

We have elaborated the distinction between parents' aspirations and goals because of its importance for understanding how parents' orientation to their children's education develops. The distinction is especially significant as the variable which more directly influences both their children's aspiration and goal. Moreover, clearly differentiating between parents' aspirations and goals for their sons is important because it points up the need for a theoretical analysis and empirical study of goals which considers not only the variables which initially determine aspirations, but which also gives separate attention to those influencing the conversion of aspirations and goals. Although our evidence about aspirations may be somewhat speculative, we think that which follows manages for the most part to keep these two sets of factors distinct.

Determinants of Parents' Aspirations and Goals

Our objective in this chapter is having to identify the differences between parents which determine their high or low educational goals for their sons. We, therefore, will first describe our measure of parents' goals and indicate why we concerned ourselves with the study of high (low) goals as we have measured them. We will then concentrate on trying to explain the relationship of social class to parental goals. We will argue, and present support, for the view that this relationship is not primarily a function of the relationship between social class and parents' aspirations for their sons, but rather that it is determined by the association between social class and parents' perception of the feasibility of their sons' realizing the high aspirations they have for them. Special attention will be given to a condition--father's occupational dissatisfaction--which in the lower classes may tend to intensify parents' high aspirations and thus make them appear more feasible. In the remainder of the chapter, data will be presented on a number of diverse factors, such as race and religion, whose association with parents' goals for their children have been investigated in previous research.

The Measure of Parental Goals

The tenth-grade boys of this study were asked five questions about the goal held for them by their parents. The identical questions for mothers and fathers were put in separate questionnaires filled out on different days, so that answers given about one parent would be less likely to influence answers about the other.

We believe the measure of parental goals developed from responses to these five questions is superior to any used in the past. Previous investigations have relied on a single item such as, "How far do your parents want you to go in school?" This item was also used in the present study, but in combination with a score derived from four additional questions--forming a scale--which provide an indication of how strongly mothers and fathers feel about their son going to college.[1]

On the basis of the foregoing measure, parents said to have high goals for their sons are (a) those who want them to obtain more than 4 years of college _and_ have a strong or intermediate intensity of feeling about their going to college, _or_ (b) those who want them to complete 4 years of college _and_ feel strongly about it. We consider it a valid assumption that these two groups of parents have set at least 4 years of college as their goal for their sons and moreover, are deeply motivated to seeing them attain it.

Our treatment of parents' goals in this chapter analyzes the differences between the "high goal" parents and all others. We could have chosen to compare three instead of two groups of parents: those having high, intermediate, or low goals (the latter being fathers and mothers wanting junior college--with little intensity--or less for their sons), but this would have complicated our analysis unduly. Moreover, with the increased incidence of attendance at junior college, it may be that, at least for boys, the rewards of education beyond high school or trade school are now seen to accrue primarily to those who complete 4 or more years of college. If this is the case, our "high" goal parents can be regarded as significantly different from the remaining parents in our analysis.

Social Class and Aspirations

It is our contention that parents' educational aspirations for their sons tend to be rather uniformly high in all strata of American society: most parents _would like_ a college education for their sons regardless of the family's social-class position. This entails two assumptions. First, that most parents in the United States desire more rather than less success for their children, and second, that they believe the chances of success are substantially enhanced by a college education.

Although there is no empirical evidence for the first assumption, it seems plausible because most parents identify closely with their children and, consequently, find what is rewarding for their children to be rewarding for themselves. It may also be supposed that parents are motivated to have their children succeed because of the credit it will reflect on them. Moreover, parents in the lower social classes may anticipate a material return from the success of their children, thinking that the more financially successful their sons are, the greater the economic assistance they can render their parents. Assuming the validity of the assumption that fathers and mothers would like to see their children succeed, we are faced with the question of whether parents see education as the key to success. Our view is that they do, and it can be defended empirically as well as theoretically.

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[1] See Appendix A for the details of the scale.

It is difficult to believe that any segment of American society is unaware of the instrumental value of education (i.e., fails to appreciate that most men require a college education to achieve an occupation which promises prestige, relatively high income, and an interesting and physically undemanding life). These rewards of education are continuously dramatized in all the mass media. Furthermore, the lesson of direct experience greatly enforces the message of the media. It can be presumed that most fathers at higher occupational levels know that education was necessary for the attainment of their positions and, similarly, that those at lower levels know that it was the lack of education that brought them where they are.

In the following section we present data supporting our presumption that parents at all levels are cognizant of the rewards associated with education. This evidence, in conjunction with the assumption that parents wish their children to be successful, leads one to conclude that the great majority of fathers and mothers would like their sons to obtain a college education. That this, in fact, is the case will be shown by data collected in a national survey in 1961.[1]

Perception of the Instrumental Value of Education

The data presented in this section are boys' responses to questions indicating parents' attitudes to their fathers' education and occupation. It is probable that boys' responses to these questions are based on what they have heard their parents say. Such information is undoubtedly common in the experience of high school students, since it is likely that one of the tactics widely employed by parents in encouraging their sons to seek a college education is to argue, in effect, "Look how much my college education has done for me" (parents in the higher social classes), and, "Look where I am: it's all because I only have a high school education" (parents in the lower social classes). Implicit, of course, in both these efforts at encouragement of their sons, is parents' evaluation of the effect fathers' level of education had on their lives.

Could Father Have Gotten Further Ahead With More Education?

Sons' reports of whether they have heard their parents say that "father could have gotten further ahead if he had more education" are excellent indicators of parents' perception of the instrumental value of education. And as can be seen in the data of Table 7.1, the lower their social-class position (i.e., the less educated the fathers[1]), the greater the proportions of fathers and mothers who are reported to have said "three or more times" that the fathers could have gotten further ahead with more **education.**[2] Conversely, the higher their social class (i.e., the better educated the fathers), the greater the percentages of fathers and mothers who are described as "never" having spoken of the inadequacy of fathers' educational level.[3] The data of this table, therefore, can be regarded as evidence for the proposition that awareness of the value of education is by no means restricted to parents in the higher classes; it is explicitly articulated by about two-thirds (65 percent) of the lower working-class fathers. The latter perceive the connection between their low level of education and their low position in life, and they understand the relation between a high level of education (having more education) and increased success (getting further ahead). On the other hand, in the higher social classes (where fathers' educational level is high) parents are not likely to think that additional education would have made the fathers more successful.

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[1] Jaffee and Adams, op. cit.

Parents' Satisfaction With Fathers' Education

The data of Table 7.2 are boys' responses to the question of whether their parents are satisfied with the amount of their fathers' education. The association between these responses and family social class is roughly parallel to that noted for the preceding question. The lower the family social class, the less likely fathers and mothers are to be described as satisfied with fathers' education; the higher the social class, the more likely they are to be so described.[4] Thus we see again that those who lack education regret it, and that those who have it appreciate it.

Has Father's Education Made It Easier To Earn a Living?

This and the next two items further support the thesis that the instrumental value of education is known to fathers in the lower classes as well as to those in the higher classes. Boys were asked whether they thought the amount of their fathers' education had (a) made it easier or harder for them to make a living, (b) made their life less or more interesting, and (c) got them more or less respect from people.[1]

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[1] It would have been preferable here and subsequently to control fathers' education, rather than use social class as an index of it. Unfortunately, however, our initial thinking about the problem called for the use of social class, and time pressure does not allow for the re-analysis of the data by fathers' education.

[2] The statement is imputed to fathers more than to mothers, particularly in the three lower classes.

[3] The percentage of mothers in the "never" category is smaller than the percentage of fathers in all social classes.

[4] Larger proportions of mothers than fathers in the three lower classes are reported to be satisfied with fathers' education. A larger percentage of lower- and upper working-class boys than those of the other three classes (approximately 20 percent as compared with 10 percent) say they don't know whether their fathers are satisfied or dissatisfied with their education. In the case of mothers, the percentages of boys who report not knowing their attitudes range from 41 in the lower working class to 4 percent in the upper class.

Table 7.3 requires little comment. It shows that, in their sons' opinion, the lower the social class (i.e., the lower father's educational level), the harder it was for them to make a living, and conversely, the higher the social class (i.e., the higher fathers' educational and occupational level), the easier it was for fathers to make a living. Noteworthy in the percentage distributions of the table--and also in those of the two subsequent tables--are the essential similarity of responses obtained for upper middle- and upper-class fathers and the fact that the lower middle-class group is closer to the upper working-class fathers than to those from the upper middle class. This patterning of the responses probably corresponds to the incidence of college education and the level of occupational prestige associated with it. It is interesting to note that almost a fourth of the boys in the three lower classes, compared with less than a tenth of those in the two upper classes, say their fathers' education made no difference in the effort required to earn a living.

Has Father's Education Made His Life More Interesting?

The data of Table 7.4 indicate the relation of social class (as an index of fathers' educational and occupational level) to sons' reports of whether their fathers' lives were made less or more interesting as a result of the amount of education they had. The trend of the data is similar to that noted in the preceding table. The higher their class position, the larger the proportion of fathers whose education is said to have made their lives more interesting (90 percent in the upper class compared with 28 percent in the lower working class), whereas the lower their class status, the more likely it is that sons will say their fathers' education made their lives less interesting. (Two percent in the upper class in contrast to 44 percent in the lower working class.) The large percentages of boys in the three lower classes reporting their fathers' education made "no difference" in how interesting a life they led suggests that this particular value of education is less salient for fathers with a lesser amount of schooling than it is for those having more education.

Fathers' Education and Respect Accorded Them

Sons' reports of whether their fathers' education won them less or more respect are shown in Table 7.5. The data are extremely revealing of differences between the various strata in their readiness to concede unequivocally that prestige in American society is much more likely to be accorded to the educated than to the relatively uneducated. It will be noted that the higher their social class, the greater the proportions of boys who say their fathers' education earned them more respect.[1] Boys from the three lower classes do not, however, say that their fathers' lack of education led to their being accorded less respect. Rather, they tend to report that it made no difference: roughly two-thirds of them gave this response. We do not take this to mean that the fathers of most of the boys giving this response--and the boys themselves--are unaware of the prestige conferred by education. We think that, more or less subtly, fathers do reveal to their sons the relatively low or high status accorded them by virtue of their educational and occupational level. And we think their sons perceive this, or are independently aware of it. We therefore interpret as a defensive reaction the tendency of boys from the three lower classes to deny this effect of education; the denial implies that such boys think the respect given their fathers should not be--despite the fact that they know it tends to be--determined by the amount of their education. A ready rationalization for this denial is that their fathers should be evaluated, and granted respect, in terms of their worth as persons, rather than on the basis of their education and its associated occupational level.

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[1] See Appendix B, Form B, p. 12, for the way the questions were asked.

Thus far we have argued for the hypothesis--and presented our evidence for it--that regardless of their social-class position, most parents would like a college education for their sons. We now turn to the findings of another investigation that also supports this hypothesis.

The Education Parents Would Like for Their Children

Jaffe and Adams, in their rarely cited article, report a finding that provides rather decisive evidence for the thesis just advanced: "By 1961 virtually all parents indicated that they would like their children to attend college. Well over 90 percent of the respondents in all of the households so replied when queried in March, 1961."[2]

The finding that parents at all income and educational levels uniformly hold high aspirations contradicts Hyman's often-quoted assumption that ". . . the lower class individual doesn't want what might help him get success."[3] We are disposed, however, to give more weight to Jaffe and Adams' finding because their respondents were parents of pre-college age children answering a direct question about their aspirations. The sources of the data Hyman offers in support of his notion, on the other hand, were more general samples of the adulp population (both parents and non-parents), who were asked hypothetical (and somewhat inferential) questions[1] to determine the value they placed on a college education.

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[1] This is reported by 88 percent of the upper-class boys but by only 17 percent of those from working-class families.

[2] Jaffe and Adams, op. cit., p. 269. The question in the survey was, "Would you like to have them (him/her) go to college?" The respondents comprised a national sample of adults. Since many of the respondents were living in areas with few junior college facilities, we assume they were answering the question in terms of a 4-year college or university.

[3] Hyman, op. cit.

Another study[2] which, like Hyman's, reports that parents' (mothers only) aspirations for their children vary by social class, is also subject to question because its measure of parental aspiration can be more correctly interpreted as a measure of parents' goals. This was a 1967 study of mothers of ninth-grade boys and girls. The question used to determine mothers' aspirations was, "How much further in school should your son/daughter go before he/she stops and works full time?" This question is not asking how much education the parent would like the child to get, but instead can be understood as asking how far the child should go in school (i.e., how far the mother wants the child to go) in view of the child's ability and family economic resources. The former is the parent's aspiration; the latter is the parent's goal.[3]

Additional studies could be cited showing a correlation between social class and educational or occupational aspirations. But the aspirations investigated were those of the children and not those of their parents. And, as pointed out in Chapter 1, there are grounds for assuming that children's aspirations, unlike those of parents, will vary somewhat with their families' social-class position. Our concern, at this point, is strictly with parents' aspirations.

Since our speculation and data lead us to conclude that, independently of their social-class position, all or most parents would like their children to have a college education, we are faced with the task of accounting for the association found in a number of studies,[1] as well as in our own, between parents' social class and their educational goals for their children. We propose to argue--and within the limits of our data to demonstrate--that this association is largely a result of the relation between some of the variables indexed by social class and parents' evaluations of the feasibility of their children realizing the high educational aspirations they have for them.

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[1] The two questions bearing on education were: "About how much schooling do you think most young men need these days to get along well in the world?" and "After the war if you had a son (daughter) graduating from high school would you prefer that he (she) go on to college or would you rather have him (her) do something else, or wouldn't you care one way or the other?" (Hyman, op. cit.) In our judgment, much of the survey data used by Hyman (but not collected under his direction) do not warrant the conclusions he draws from them.

[2] Wendling and Elliott, op. cit.

[3] What the authors of this study designate as the mother's goal is, in fact, the mother's expectation, as can be seen from the question used to determine it. "Since things don't always work out the way we would like them to, how much schooling or education do you think he/she will actually get?" The level of education parents think their sons will attain could differ both from their aspirations and their goals for them.

In the foregoing analysis, no mention was made of the important question of whether parents differ by social class in the intensity of their aspirations. This issue is important because of its implications for parents' evaluation of the feasibility of their children realizing their high aspirations: the more strongly high aspirations are held, the more parents may be motivated to try to influence their feasibility if they believe the latter to be changeable. Unfortunately, no data are available on intensity of parents' aspirations. Intuitively, we believe that high intensity of aspirations is more characteristic of the upper than of the lower classes. The intensity dimension of aspirations is made use of in the interpretation of some of our findings.

Parents' Evaluation of the Feasibility of Realizing Their Aspirations

The parent with a high educational aspiration (who would like his son to have 4 or more years of college) is not likely to make this his goal--want, and be motivated to have his son obtain this much education--unless he believes it feasible, both economically[2] and academically. We will first delineate our view of how these dimensions of feasibility are influenced by the two major determinants of family social-class position--prestige level of father's occupation and his level of education.

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[1] The findings reported by Jaffe and Adams (op. cit.) on what we call parental goals should be noted. The question used in their survey was, "Do you intend to send your children to college?" The responses indicated that the higher their occupational prestige level, the greater the percentage of parents giving affirmative responses. A related finding of interest was that parents of children 14 to 17 years of age were 18 percent less likely to give this response than those whose children were 4 years old or younger. We suggest that this age differential reflects the fact that parents with younger children can be more optimistic about the feasibility of their children achieving their high aspirations.

[2] Jaffe and Adams make the following observation regarding parents' aspirations and goals for their children: "It may be that all parents want their children to go to college if. This 'if' could be contingent upon college not costing the family any money and not competing with other expenditures which the family wishes to make and does make." (op. cit., p. 270). This implies a process of balancing the value of a college education for the children against other family values. Surprisingly, Jaffe and Adams make no reference to parents' evaluation of their children's academic ability as a factor influencing their goals.

Determinants of Perception of Academic Feasibility

Parents' education of itself has a substantial influence on their judgment of whether their sons' academic ability is sufficient to get them through 4 or more years of college. This can be seen in the data of Table 7.6, which show the relation between family social class (as an index of parents' education) and sons' reports of their parents' estimates of their ability. Consistently, the higher the social class, the larger is the proportion of sons who think their fathers and mothers believe they have the ability to complete 4 years or more of college. Almost 90 percent of upper-class parents--as compared with under 50 percent of working-class parents--are said to think their sons have this much ability. On the other hand, the lower the social class, the greater the percentage of boys who perceive their parents as assessing their ability at or below the junior college level. An additional finding of interest in Table 7.6 is the number of sons reporting they "don't know" their parents' opinion of their ability. This response was given for fathers by almost one in five boys of lower- and upper working-class families, and for mothers by the same proportion of lower working-class boys. This response was less frequent among boys in the higher classes.

Our data show a high correlation between (a) parents' estimates of their sons' academic ability and their average in solid subjects in the tenth grade[1] and (b) family social-class position and the latter.[2] In general, the higher their sons' school grades, the more likely parents are to think they have the ability to finish 4 years or more of college.[3] And, the higher the social-class position of the family, the higher are the sons' grades. It is thus that latter variable that largely accounts for the association between parents' social class and their estimate of their sons' ability, which in effect, represents the parents' judgment of the academic feasibility of their sons' attaining 4 or more years of college. The problem, therefore, is to account for the correlation between their families' social-class position and boys' school grades. This problem has received a good deal of attention in other studies, and therefore will be dealt with briefly here.

We think that the primary influences determining this correlation flow from the level of parents' education. In general, it can be said that the more education parents have, the greater the advantages their children enjoy in the competition for grades. Children of better educated parents begin acquiring the skills which will earn them high grades well before their formal schooling has begun. Reading and verbal facility, in addition to skill in dealing with the abstractions of school subject matter, obviously are likely to be developed earlier and more successfully by children, one or both of whose parents are college graduates than by those whose parents have little education. The former thus enter the school system with a "headstart"--which, in small measure, special government programs now are attempting to provide for the latter. Apart from this initial advantage, children of the educated are thought to be much more at home in the classroom: teachers' expectations, and the tasks they set are far more congenial to such boys than they are to working class children and especially those from minority groups, such as the blacks and the Mexican-Americans. Moreover, the better educated the parents, the more understanding and helpful they can be when their children experience difficulties in school work, and the simpler it is for them to take a meaningful interest in the school life of their children. The theme requires no elaboration. On all grounds, one would expect the total performance of children of the better educated parents to be evaluated more favorably, and, accordingly, to be rewarded higher grades by their teachers, and, independently of school grades, some parents with little education may impute low academic ability to their children on the basis of heredity. Fathers may say (or think): "Like me, he's better with his hands." Good grades, then, are not expected and poor grades are accepted as unavoidable.

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[1] These data are not presented.

[2] See Table 3.48.

[3] That parents' inferences from their sons' grades, on the whole, are sound is indicated by the fact that high school grades are the best predictor of college performance. (See Lee J. Cronbach, Essentials of Psychological Testing, Harper and Row, New York, 1960.)

Parents' perception of the academic feasibility of a college education can also be influenced by their own educational experience. Parents who are college graduates will have more familiarity than others with the routes and possibilities within the educational system. Even if their sons' secondary school grades are relatively low, parents who have been to college will probably have more information than parents with less education about colleges with flexible admissions requirements, about junior colleges and the opportunities for subsequent transfer to other institutions. And, even if their income is limited, these parents, having obtained a college education themselves, will also be more aware than parents with less education of the availability of scholarships and loans from educational institutions, as well as from private and public agencies.[1] In short, the higher their level of education, the more confident parents can be about being able to help their children negotiate the complexity of collegiate requirements and funding.[2] The more feasible, therefore, they can assume it is for their sons to secure a college education.

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[1] One of the findings of a national survey of 5,000 households was that parents at lower economic levels (i.e., the less educated) tend to be unaware of the various means available for financing a college education for their children. See Elmo Roper, "College Ambitions and Parental Planning," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1961, pp. 159-166.

[2] See our findings on this in Chapter 9.

Determinants of Economic Feasibility

We have suggested above that parents' education can influence their perception of the economic feasibility of a college education as well as of its academic feasibility. The major influence on parents' evaluation of the economic feasibility of a higher education, however, is undoubtedly fathers' occupation. This follows from the considerable correlation between the prestige level of a man's work and his income. Fathers in low-status employment may not even consider that a college education for their sons is within the realm of economic possibility.[1] On the other hand, those having the income of high-prestige occupations can almost ignore the question of its economic feasibility in arriving at their educational goals for their sons. Indeed, given high income, parents can even anticipate that their sons' academic ability will present no problem. If need be, they can afford special schools, tutors, and prep schools which will likely assure their sons' admission to college. Clearly, therefore, the higher fathers' occupational prestige--which is, of course, associated with their level of education--the greater the likelihood that fathers and mothers will consider a college education to be economically feasible for their sons.

Parents' Goals for Their Sons

We have argued in the preceding sections of this chapter for the assumption that, regardless of their position in life, most parents have a high aspiration for their sons; i.e., would like them to obtain a college education. We have suggested that the intensity of this aspiration may be greater in the higher than in the lower classes. We also have argued for the assumption that parents' perception of the feasibility of realizing their aspiration is positively associated with their own education and with their economic status (as determined by the occupation of the family head). We turn now to consider our data on the relation of social class, fathers' occupation and parents' education to their goals for their sons. The findings, it will be seen, are consistent with what would be predicted from our assumptions. The higher parents rank on all three variables, the larger the likelihood that they will have high goals.

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[1] In the survey cited in the preceding footnote, parents who indicated they didn't expect their children to go to college were asked their reasons for thinking so. The reason given by 46 percent of the parents was "can't raise the money"--which exceeded by far the frequency of any other reason stated. (Only 10 percent said, "Marks not good enough.") Since the percentage of children whose parents expected them to go to college was lowest for families described as "below average economic level" it can be assumed that the income earned from low-status occupations by fathers in these families has led many to conclude that it was not economically feasible for their children to secure a college education. See Roper, *op. cit*.

Social Class and Goals

The data of Table 7.7 show that the higher their social-class position, the greater are the percentages of fathers and mothers who have high goals for their sons. The difference between lower working-class and upper-class parents is almost 50 percent. There is little difference between parents in the lower working- and upper-working class, but there is a sharp divergence between them and lower middle-class parents.

Fathers' Occupation and Parents Education and Their Goals

In Table 7.8, fathers are grouped by the prestige level of their occupations and by education. Mothers are grouped by fathers' occupational prestige and their own education. Table 7.8 reports for each of the groups thus obtained the percentage of fathers and mothers having high goals for their sons. The percentages show that both education and occupational status have independent effects on parents' goals.

Reading down the columns (to control for parents' education), we note that for each of the three educational levels, the higher the fathers' occupational status, the larger tends to be the percentage of fathers and mothers having high educational goals for their son. And, reading across the rows (to control for the prestige of fathers' occupation), we find that within each of the six occupational prestige categories, the percentage of fathers and mothers having high goals tends to be greater for those having more education.

The range of percentages in the columns and rows shows fathers' occupation to be more closely associated than parents' education with their goals for their sons. This suggests that parents' judgment of the economic feasibility of realizing their aspirations for ther sons has more effect on their goals than does their judgment of its academic feasibility. This would follow from the assumption that fathers' occupation is a better index than parents' education of family income (economic feasibility), and from the added assumption that parents' education has more influence than fathers' occupational level on their evaluation of the academic feasibility of a college education for their sons.

Another interesting finding emerging from the data of Table 7.8 is that fathers' education has less effect on the goals of those in blue collar occupations (levels 5, 6, and 7) than on the goals of those in white collar occupations (levels, 1, 2, 3, and 4). The latter (fathers with 4 or more years of college) are about 20 percent more likely to have high goals for their sons than fathers with a high school education or less. In the case of fathers in blue collar occupations, however, there is no meaningful goal difference between those who are college graduates and those having a high school education.[1]

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[1] The data for the mothers exibit a trend which parallels that observed for fathers, but the differences are less marked.

Parents' Estimates of Sons' Ability and Their Goals for Them

We have hypothesized that parents' perception of the academic feasibility of their sons completing 4 or more years of college would influence their goals for them, and we have shown that this feasibility judgment was associated with family social-class position. We also argued that the higher parents' social class, the greater the likelihood that they would consider a college education to be economically feasible for their sons. Combining these arguments, we are led to predict that (a) at each social-class level, the higher parents' estimate of their sons' ability, the higher their goals for them will be, and (b) at each ability level of their sons, the higher parents' social-class position, the greater the proportion who would have high goals for their sons. The data of Table 7.9 support both predictions.

The data show clearly that the higher their estimates of their sons' ability, the greater the percentage of parents having high goals for them. In all social classes, the proportion of parents having high goals is considerably larger among those who think their sons have the ability to complete 4 or more years of college than among those who think their sons can only finish junior college.[1] Moreover, except for 5 percent of upper working-class mothers, none of the parents who think their sons can only finish high school are reported to have high educational goals for them. These results support the assumption that parents' estimates of their children's ability influence their goals independently of the influence of economic status--as indexed by social class--on the goals.

The percentages in the last two columns of Table 7.9 show that parents' economic status has an effect on goals which is independent of the ability factors. These percentages indicate that, for a given estimated ability level, the higher the economic status (social class) of the family, the larger the proportion of fathers and mothers having high goals for their sons: upper-class fathers, for example, are 37 percent more likely to estimate that their sons can finish 4 or more years of college than are lower working-class fathers.

The joint effect on parents' goals of their evaluation of the academic and economic feasibility of a college education for their sons can be seen by comparing lower working-class parents who estimate their sons' ability to be at the junior college level with upper-class parents who estimate their sons' ability to be 4 or more years of college. The difference between these two groups of fathers and mothers is 67 and 63 percent, respectively.

The inferences drawn from the data of Table 7.9 may be challenged on the ground that (a) for various reasons, boys' reports of parents' estimates of their academic ability may be subject to a good deal of error, and (b) the observed correlation between these reports and boys' reports of their parents' goals may be due merely to the consistency of the reporters, rather than to a valid relationship between the variables. Both of these objections are met by the data presented below.

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[1] The difference in question is about 30 percent for lower working-class parents and 44 percent for those of the upper class.

Table 7.10 shows the relation between boys' grades--taken from school records--and their reports of parental goals. For most parents, grades are the major indicator of their sons' academic aptitude. It therefore may be assumed that the better their grades, the higher will be parents' estimates of their sons' academic ability. In turn, one may hypothesize that the better their sons' grades, the greater the probability that parents will have high goals for them. The data of Table 7.10 for both fathers and mothers are in accord with this hypothesis. With the exception of one slight reversal, we find that in each social class the higher their sons' average grade, the larger the percentage of fathers and mothers for whom high goals are reported. This association between grades and goals is weakest for upper-class mothers.[1]

Examination of the columns of Table 7.10 permits us to evaluate the association between parental goals and family resources (perceived economic feasibility) for each of the three grade levels of students. The data indicate that, whether their sons have "low," "intermediate," or "high" averages, fathers and mothers are more likely to have high goals in the higher social classes than in the lower classes. This finding is more readily understood for "high" and "intermediate" level students than for those having "low" averages. Given relatively adequate grades ("high" and "intermediate"), the higher family social class the higher the economic feasibility of a college education for their sons (as indexed by social class), and consequently, the more likely parents are to have high goals. In the case of boys having "low" grades, however, it appears that the higher the social-class position of the family, the more parents tend to disregard their academic ability in setting educational goals for them.

Several considerations could account for this disregard. Because of their social-class position, parents in the higher classes may come to expect that their sons should, as a matter of course, obtain a college education. Since there is no question about their being able to afford it, they may feel that their sons' not finishing college will reflect on their upbringing. They also may think that family prestige will suffer if their sons are not college graduates. When their sons' grades are low, such parents may reason that the grades do not accurately reflect their ability: because these are _their_ children and because the parents have high status and are thus thought to have high ability, the parents may believe that their children must also have high ability,[1] and that this will become evident when they are in college. In the lower classes, on the other hand, although they would like it, it may not be as important to parents that their children be college graduates. Even if these parents have high aspirations, they may see themselves as having relatively little academic aptitude, and can come to accept the low grades their sons are likely to get as evidence that this is also true in their case. Added to the fact that they may have doubts about the economic feasibility of college for their sons, these class-based feelings of academic inferiority would explain why lower class parents would be less likely than those of the higher social classes to have high educational goals for their sons.

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[1] Sixty-three percent of those whose sons have "low" grades are reported to have high goals and only 8 percent more of the mothers of students having "high" grade averages have high goals for them. The association between grades and goals is also relatively small for lower working-class fathers. Thirty percent of the fathers of students having "high" averages have high goals for them, but this is only 12 percent in excess of fathers of boys having "low" grades.

Dissatisfaction With Fathers' Occupation and Parents' Goals

This section examines some data on the relationship between fathers' dissatisfaction with their occupation and the goals they hold for their sons. Our hypothesis is that parents who are dissatisfied with the father's occupation will be more likely than those who are satisfied to have high goals for their sons. But, we hypothesize that this will only hold for lower class parents; the grounds for this hypothesis will be developed as we present the data. Some of the indicators of occupational dissatisfaction that were used yielded findings consistent with the hypothesis, while others did not. Our explanation for this divergence will be given below. We first consider the two indicators of dissatisfaction with fathers' occupation which showed no relation to parents' goals. These are parents' satisfaction with fathers' income and with the kind of work he does.

Dissatisfaction With Fathers' Income and Work and Parents' Goals

As expected, the data of Tables 7.11 and 7.12 show a positive association between fathers' and mothers' social-class position and each of these indicators. What is surprising, however, are the large percentages of fathers and mothers in the lower working-, upper working-, and lower-middle class reported to be "very" or "pretty" satisfied with (a) the money the fathers earn from their work or business, and (b) the kind of work they do aside from the money.[2] More than half the lower working-class fathers and mothers are described as satisfied with the income, and approximately half the parents as satisfied with the kind of work the occupation entails. As can be seen in the tables, the percentages of satisfied parents increase as we move from the working classes to the other classes. Thus the higher the prestige level of fathers' occupation[1] (as indexed by social class), the more likely fathers and mothers are to be satisfied with that occupation and the less likely to be dissatisfied. For both fathers and mothers, however, this relationship is more marked with respect to the kind of work father does than in regard to his income. Indeed, for fathers the association between occupational level and income satisfaction is unexpectedly low.[2]

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[1] For the relation between social status and conception of ability, see Joseph Berger, et al., "Status Characteristics and Expectation States," in Sociological Theories in Progress, Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1966.

[2] The reader is reminded that the data here, and elsewhere in the chapter, are sons' reports of their parents' attitudes. It is interesting to note that larger percentages of boys from the lower social classes than from the upper classes said they didn't know their parents' attitudes on these matters.

Before proceeding to the data on the relation between dissatisfaction with fathers' occupation and parents' goals for their sons, let us consider the rationale for the hypothesis that these factors will be correlated in the lower classes but not in the higher classes. We have argued for the view that most parents have a high educational aspiration: variation in their goals is predominantly the result of differences in perception of the feasibility of the aspirations being achieved. We believe it is likely that dissatisfaction with fathers' occupation tends to accentuate the high aspirations of working-class parents; this in turn either distorts their judgments of feasibility or motivates them to act on the factors necessary for the realization of their aspirations, namely the ability to pay the cost of a college education and their sons' level of academic performance. Upper middle- and upper-class families are in a different situation. The great majority of fathers in these families are satisfied with their work and, in most instances, know that they owe their occupation and the rewards associated with it to their education. Therefore, they should like their sons to have the same opportunity. Since for these fathers there is usually no question about the economic or academic feasibility of a college education for their sons, they can be expected to set high goals for them.

But given dissatisfaction with fathers' work in the higher strata families, is there reason to anticipate that these parents will denigrate the value of education for their sons? We think not, because in this case fathers' work dissatisfaction is very probably with their specific occupation rather than with the level of their employment. (We assume, however, that fathers in the lower social classes who are dissatisfied with their work are likely to be dissatisfied with their occupational level rather than with their particular jobs.) The occupationally dissatisfied fathers of the higher classes presumably erred in choosing their particular work, but we see no basis for thinking they would prefer an occupation at a lower level for themselves or their sons, or that they might want a lower level of education for them. In short, our argument leads us to predict an association between fathers' work dissatisfaction and parents' educational goals for their sons only in the lower strata. The data of Tables 7.13 and 7.14 provide the initial test of this hypothesis.

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[1] Here, as elsewhere, where we employ social class to index fathers' occupational prestige, it clearly would have been preferable to employ the latter itself. Our initial formulation called for the use of social class and, regrettably, time does not permit re-analysis of the data.

[2] The difference between the proportions of lower working- and upper-class fathers who are reported to be "very satisfied" with their income is only 16 percent (Table 7.11). The parellel difference for the kind of work they do is 43 percent (Table 7.12). The comparable differences for mothers are 35 and 50 percent, respectively.

Parents are grouped in Table 7.13 both by family social class and by how satisfied they are said to be with father's income. For each group of fathers and mothers, the table shows the percentage reported to have high educational goals for their sons. Table 7.14 presents equivalent percentages for parents grouped by family class and by how satisfied they are with the kind of work done by the father. Examination of Table 7.13 reveals no meaningful pattern of association in any of the social classes between income satisfaction and fathers' or mothers' goals. But the persistent relation between family social class and fathers' and mothers' goals is readily apparent at each level of income satisfaction.

Table 7.14 shows that lower working-class fathers who are described as either "very" or "pretty" dissatisfied with the kind of work they do are more likely than those who are satisfied to have high goals for their sons. The percentage for the two dissatisfied groups combined is 38 as compared with 17 percent for the satisfied. In view, however, of the relatively small number of dissatisfied fathers, the lack of a similar association for upper working-class fathers, and for both groups of working-class mothers, the finding for the lower working-class fathers must be viewed as possibly due to chance. One aspect of Table 7.14 which warrants attention is the fact that the relation between social class and parents' goals (reading down the columns) is of lesser magnitude for fathers and mothers who are "very dissatisfied" with father's work than it is for other groups of parents. The association for fathers expecially is larger among those who are satisfied with their work.

Relation of Other Indicators of Fathers' Work Satisfaction to Parents' Goals

The data considered to this poing offer very uncertain support for the hypothesis that parents in the lower classes who are dissatisfied with fathers' work would have higher goals than those who are satisfied. The data are consistent with the assumption that dissatisfied and satisfied parents in the higher classes would not differ in their goals. However, a different conclusion is indicated by findings which emerged from what we originally regarded as additional or alternative indicators of fathers' work satisfaction. These indicators are (a) fathers' reported satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their sons doing the same kind of work they do, (b) fathers' and mothers' satisfaction with the level of fathers' education, and (c) sons' reports of whether they heard fathers and mothers say that fathers could have gotten further ahead if the father had more education. The findings for these three items led us to review our initial judgment that they were equivalent to fathers' satisfaction with the income from their occupation and with the kind of work they do. We now believe they are not. The latter two items are very likely indicators of fathers' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their occupation. Unlike the former three items, however, they do not imply that dissatisfaction intensified their parents' wish for something better for their sons, something that might be achieved through their getting more education than their fathers. This interpretation will be elaborated in our discussion of the data.

The first of the three items to be considered is fathers' reported attitude to their sons doing the same kind of work they do.[1] Table 7.15 shows the relationship between this attitude and family social class. The data indicate that, the higher in status the occupation (i.e., social class), the greater the percentage of fathers who would be satisfied for their sons to do the kind of work they do and the smaller the proportions who would be dissatisfied. This association is sharpest for fathers who would be "very satisfied" or "very dissatisfied" to have their sons follow in their occupational footsteps.

Comparison of the data of Table 7.15 with those of Table 7.12 (reporting how satisfied fathers are with the kind of work they do) reveals significant differences. First, the percentages of fathers in the three lower classes said to be dissatisfied with their work are much smaller than the percentages who would be dissatisfied if their sons were to enter their occupations.[2] We interpret this difference to mean that sons' evaluation of their fathers' dissatisfaction or satisfaction with their work is seen in the context of their fathers' background and expectations. Thus a son whose father is a semi-skilled or even unskilled worker may perceive him correctly to be satisfied with his work. The fathers' education and other circumstances may not have allowed for, or encouraged him to enter, any other occupation. Hence, the father is not dissatisfied with the work he does for a living. But, in thinking of his son's future, this father's perspective may be quite different. He knows that his son still has options which were not available to him. His son could enter a more prestigious and more generally rewarding occupation by obtaining more education than he did. Consequently, the father is likely to make it clear to his son that he would be dissatisfied for him to do the kind of work that he does. This illustration points up what we believe to be the important distinction in the lower classes between fathers' satisfaction with their work[3] and whether they would be satisfied for their sons to be in the same occupations. Whether they would be satisfied for their sons to be in the same occupations as they are, captures fathers' ambitions for their sons, whereas fathers' satisfaction with their own work does not. The validity of this distinction is supported by the large percentages of boys who report not knowing how their fathers would feel about their doing the same kind of work they do.[4] We take this to mean that a considerable proportion of fathers in the lower classes have not shown ambition--at least overtly--for their sons' futures, possibly because they regard it as unrealistic relative to their resources and their appraisal of their sons' academic ability. The rather large proportions of boys in the higher classes who report being unaware of their fathers' attitude may reflect the fact that, in these classes, parents' wishes for their sons' position in life are not in doubt and hence not articulated. We presume that when these boys say they do not know their father's attitude to their doing the same kind of work as he does, they are responding to the phrase "same kind" in terms of fathers' specific occupation. Sons of working-class families on the other hand, are responding in terms of the level of the occupation.

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[1] Due to an oversight, data on this question were not collected for the mothers.

[2] For example, the difference in question for "very dissatisfied" lower working-class fathers is 32 percent.

[3] As indicated by fathers' reported satisfaction with (a) the kind of work they do, and (b) their income from it.

[4] These percentages range from 28 in the lower working class to 17 in the upper class.

Given our assumptions about the implications of sons' reports of their fathers' attitude to their doing their kind of work, we would expect the following propositions to hold: (a) fathers in the lower classes who are not satisfied with their sons doing the kind of work they do would be more likely to have high goals for their sons than would fathers who consider their work satisfactory; and (b) that no such relation would be apparent for fathers in the higher strata. The data of Table 7.16 are consistent with these expectations.

Fathers are grouped in this table by family social class and their attitude to their sons' making a living at the same kind of work as theirs. The table indicates the percentage of fathers in each of the groups who have high goals for their sons. These percentages show that in the lower middle- and the two working classes, fathers who reportedly are dissatisfied with their sons adopting their fathers' occupations are more likely to have high goals for them than fathers who would find acceptable their sons doing such work. No meaningful pattern of association is found for upper middle-class fathers. The percentages for upper-class fathers suggest that those who would be satisfied for their sons to follow in their occupations are more likely to have the high goals than those who would be dissatisfied. This difference is not altogether consistent, since the number of upper-class fathers who would be dissatisfied is small, the finding could be a chance result.

The second item which yielded support for our hypothesis is sons' reports of whether their fathers were satisfied with how much education they had obtained. Here we assume that fathers in the lower classes described as dissatisfied with the amount of their education are those who would like their sons to secure more education than they themselves did: such fathers likely communicate to their sons dissatisfaction with their education in order to motivate them to strive for a college education.[1] Obviously we therefore expect fathers in the lower classes whose dissatisfaction with their education has been made known to their sons to be more likely to have higher goals for them than fathers reported to be satisfied with their education. Since, however, fathers in the prestigious occupations of the higher classes are likely to be predominantly satisfied with their occupational achievement, few of them are expected to express dissatisfaction with the amount of their education.[1] Consequently, we would not anticipate that the satisfaction of these fathers with their own education would be related to their educational goals for their sons. As for mothers, our reasoning leads us to predict that the association between their satisfaction with their husbands' education and their goals for their sons would be similar to that for fathers.

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[1] These are fathers who, we presume, have a strong aspiration for their sons to attain a higher occupational level than their own, and recognize that to do so would require more education than they had been able to acquire.

We now turn to the data on fathers' and mothers' satisfaction with the fathers' education, considering first the relationship to social class. These data were presented earlier in Table 7.2, in connection with our discussion of the instrumental value of education. In the association between fathers' occupational level--as indexed by social class--and their satisfaction with their education.[2] An unexpected difference between mothers and fathers was the considerably smaller proportion of mothers in the three lower classes whose sons describe them as dissatisfied with their husbands' education.[3] Also of interest is the fact that the percentages of sons in the lower three classes who reported not knowing their mothers' attitude to their fathers' education was larger than the percentages who said they were unaware of their father's attitude. This fact suggests that mothers in the lower classes may not wish, or feel free, to speak critically of their husbands to their children; it is left to the fathers to indicate to their sons their dissatisfaction with their education. Or mothers in the lower classes may be less prone to evaluate their husbands' level of education than are the husbands themselves. This might follow from the fact that fathers experience the consequences of a lack of education directly, while mothers at most know them vicariously. If the latter interpretation is correct, it would account for the difference (reported below) in the finding for fathers and mothers in regard to the relation between their respective attitudes to the fathers' education and their goals for their sons.

The percentages of Table 7.17 show that lower- and upper working-class fathers are more likely to have high goals for their sons if they are dissatisfied, rather than satisfied, with their own education. But no such difference is observed for the working-class mothers. Lower middle-class mothers who are "very dissatisfied" with their husbands' education are more likely than those who are either "pretty dissatisfied" or "satisfied" or have high goals.[1] Contrary to our hypothesis, there are no goal differences between dissatisfied and satisfied fathers in the lower middle class. There are no meaningful goal differences among fathers or mothers in the two upper classes, which is consistent with the hypothesis, but the numbers of parents in these classes who are dissatisfied with fathers' education are too small for any significance to be attached to their comparison with the other groups.

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[1] This is borne out by the data of Table 7.2.

[2] Ninety-five percent of the fathers in the upper class were reported by their sons to be satisfied with their education as compared with 28 percent of those in the lower working class, and 73 percent of the latter are dissatisfied in contrast to only 5 percent of the former.

[3] For example, 73 percent of the lower working-class fathers were said to be dissatisfied, but only 49 percent of the mothers.

The next item to be treated is sons' reports of whether they have heard their parents say that their father could have gotten further ahead if he had more education. This item differs from the two preceding indicators of fathers' work satisfaction,[2] because it describes satisfaction or dissatisfaction with level of occupational success for fathers of all social classes. It consequently requires a modification of our original hypothesis:[3] regardless of their occupational status, fathers who indicate to their sons that with more education they could have enjoyed greater occupational rewards are expressing the value they impute to education. They, therefore, would be expected to have higher educational goals for their sons than fathers who less frequently or never cited the instrumental worth of education in the context of their own experience. A similar difference could be anticipated between mothers who did and those who did not emphasize the potential rewards of education by reference to its consequences for the husbands' position.

The data on the relation between their social class position and parents saying that father could have gotten further ahead were presented earlier in Table 7.1. All that need be said here is that the data showed a considerable correlation between the two variables.

Table 7.18 provides some support for our modified hypothesis. At all social-class levels, fathers who are reported to never have said they could have gotten further with more education are less likely than other fathers to have high goals for their sons. The evidence for mothers, however, is less consistent. In their case, the difference tends to be between those in the "three or more times" category and all others, with a larger proportion of the former having the high goals. This difference is not found for upper working-class mothers, and is of meaningful magnitude only for those in the lower working- and lower middle classes. Here, then, as in the other items used to test our hypothesis on the relation between dissatisfaction with fathers' occupational status and parents' goals for their sons, the evidence is more supportive of the hypothesis when applied to fathers than when applied to mothers.

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[1] There are only 18 mothers in the "very dissatisfied" group; this, therefore, may not be a reliable difference.

[2] Namely, whether fathers (a) would like their sons to do the same kind of work they do, and (b) were satisfied with how much education they obtained.

[3] This was: dissatisfaction with fathers' occupation is correlated with parents' goals in the lower classes but not in the higher classes.

Supervisory and Non-Supervisory Skilled Workers

A somewhat different test of the hypothesis under consideration is provided by a comparison of fathers who are foreman or supervisors with similarly skilled workers whose positions do not involve supervisory activities.[1] It is assumed that the former will be more dissatisfied with their occupational status and consequently be more likely than the latter to have high educational goals for their sons. The rationale for this assumption follows.

In terms of occupational status, formen or supervisors tend to be regarded as skilled workers, or "line" men. They perform duties, however, which are generally associated with "staff" positions. Their roles are thus "marginal," and their positions may be presumed to involve them in substantial role conflict. This role conflict sharpens their awareness of the fact that they are performing staff work without formal recognition, which in turn generates dissatisfaction with their occupational status.

Since higher education is often required for staff positions, in seeking to account for their lack of formal recognition, such men supposedly become acutely conscious of the fact that behind their marginality lies the lack of a college education. They consequently can be presumed to be highly conscious of the value of a college education and, accordingly, to have this as a strong aspiration for their sons, which makes it more probable that they will have higher educational goals for their sons than skilled men in non-supervisory positions. Our conclusion must be somewhat less determinate for wives, since at most their experience of their husbands' status and role conflict is vicarious rather than direct.

Table 7.19 presents our evidence. Data are reported only for upper working-class fathers and mothers, since the other social classes lacked sufficient cases[2] to permit meaningful comparison of the occupational categories relevant to the hypothesis, namely foremen and skilled workers with and without supervisory functions. The table shows the percentages of fathers and mothers--grouped by the father's occupational status and the presence or absence of supervisory duties--who have high educational goals for their sons. It will be noted that, for mothers the percentage differences are small, but in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.[3] In the case of the fathers, the pattern of the percentages is roughly in the predicted direction, but the difference between the proportions of foreman having high goals (27 percent) and of non-supervisory skilled workers (22 percent) is very small. Thus, the evidence of the present study provides more support for the hypothesis when applied to mothers than when applied to fathers. But even for mothers there is only a slight association between whether their husbands are supervisors or not and their goals for their sons.

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[1] See Elizabeth Cohen, op. cit.

[2] Due to the fact that assignment of families to social classes was based on the education and occupation of the head of the household.

[3] The proportion of wives of foremen having high goals (33 percent) and of skilled supervisory workers (30 percent) is larger than that of wives of skilled workers (20 percent) whose job entails no supervision of others.

Other Variables Related to Parents' Goals

This final segment of the chapter considers parents' goals as related to race and ethnic origin, religious affiliation, and family size.

Race and Ethnic Origin

Race and ethnic origin are not, *of themselves*, determinants of parents' educational goals for their children. Any observed racial or ethnic differences in parents' goals must be viewed as resulting from conditions whose specific influences on these goals can be established theoretically or empirically, and with respect to which of the groups have been shown to vary. (For example, the groups *could* differ in values affecting the level or intensity of aspirations parents hold for their sons or which affect factors determining their perception of the feasibility of realizing them.)

We have been assuming that all parents tend to have high aspirations. There are grounds for thinking, however, that despite high aspirations, minority group parents (blacks and Mexican-Americans) who are economically underprivileged and who have experienced discrimination in myriad ways[1] are less likely than majority group (white) parents to elect high goals for their sons. Well before their children are in high school, minority group parents are more likely than those of the majority group to have concluded from their judgment of their sons' academic ability and their evaluation of its economic feasibility that setting college graduation as a goal for their sons is not realistic.[2]

Most of the tenth graders from whom our data were collected were white. The relatively small number of black and Mexican-American students in the study group--reflecting their distribution in the total society--were predominantly from lower- and upper working-class homes with few being of lower middle-class background, and even fewer coming from upper middle-class or upper-class families. The data on parental goals consequently are reported only for whites, blacks, and Mexican-Americans of the three lower social strata.[1] Moreover, conclusions involving blacks and Mexican-Americans in the lower middle class must be treated as highly tentative because of their very small numbers in our study group.

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[1] Discrimination could lead to their doubting the instrumental value of a college education for their sons.

[2] The academic ability of the minority group children is inferred by parents from their grades which are often prejudiced by disadvantages in the home and school. Minority group parents also probably have an inflated concept of the cost of a college education and, in any case, are less likely to be aware of various sources (such as government loans and part-time jobs) which could make the economic barrier to a college education less formidable than they may think it to be.

The data as presented in Table 7.20 indicate the percentages of fathers and mothers in the various groups who have high educational goals for their sons. Looking first at the fathers we can see that within the two working-class levels the percentage of whites having high goals for their sons exceeds that of both blacks and Mexican-Americans. In the case of the lower- and upper working-class mothers, however, the proportions of whites and blacks having high goals is almost identical, with the percentage for both groups being greater than that of the Mexican-American mothers.[2] The difference between black mothers and fathers in their educational goals[3] could be an indication of greater optimism of black working-class mothers about the possibility of "getting ahead." Black fathers may be less optimistic because they have experienced greater difficulty than mothers in finding and keeping jobs; hence they are more skeptical about the opportunity theme emphasized in the success ethos of American society. Another possible explanation of the difference between black fathers and mothers is that the mothers--for a number of reasons--may be more closely attached to their sons and, therefore, may be more concerned with their level of accomplishment. The goal similarity of Mexican-American mothers and fathers perhaps can be attributed to the fact that their family structure--like that of working-class whites--is less mother-centered than tends to be the case with working-class blacks.

As noted above, there are very few black and Mexican-American parents in our study who are of the lower middle class. We will merely note that in this stratum a larger proportion of both parents among the blacks than among the whites has high goals for their sons. If this is a reliable difference, it may signify that their small measure of success in the system means relatively more to black parents, and this in turn may make them more ambitious than white parents for their sons.

One further observation is in order regarding the data of Table 7.20. The data consistently show for fathers and mothers within each of the groups we have been comparing that (a) lower working- and upper working-class parents do not differ in their educational goals for their sons, and (b) a substantially larger proportion of lower middle-class parents than of working-class parents has high educational goals. This social-class difference is especially marked for the black parents.

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[1] Oriental and Portuguese parents are omitted from the analysis because of their small numbers in the study.

[2] This difference in the finding for black fathers and mothers reflects the fact that among the blacks a larger proportion of the mothers than of the fathers has high goals, whereas among the whites and Mexican-Americans the percentages of fathers and mothers having high goals are approximately the same.

[3] Assuming it is a real difference rather than due to chance, because of our small number of cases.

Religious Affiliation

Religious affiliation as such, like race or ethnic origin, cannot be regarded as a determinant of parental goals. A relationship between religion and goals, therefore, could be expected only insofar as religious groups differed with respect to the factors which affect parental goals; i.e., aspirations and evaluations of the feasibility of realizing them.[1]

Our analysis of the relation between religious affiliation and parental goals is limited to Protestants and Catholics.[2] We compare the goals of parents in these two groups with family social-class position controlled. We make no attempt to develop a rationale for predicting differences between Protestant and Catholic parents. The sociological literature leads us to expect that having high educational goals for their sons would be more characteristic of Protestant than of Catholic parents.

The data of Table 7.21 provide some confirmation of this expectation. The differences between the religious groups are more marked among mothers than among fathers. Although a larger proportion of Protestant than of Catholic fathers in four of the social classes has high goals, the differences tend to be slight except in the upper class.[3] The proportion of Protestant mothers having high goals for their sons exceeds that of Catholic mothers in all but the lower working class, where the difference favors Catholic mothers. The difference favoring Protestant mothers' likelihood of having high goals is greatest for those of the upper middle class.[4] In the upper class, however, the difference in the proportions of the two groups of mothers with high goals is only 3 percent, which given the small number of Catholics, is undoubtedly attributable to chance factors.

We have no explanation for the variation in the pattern of findings for fathers and mothers. By way of summarizing the data for both parents, it might be said that with social class controlled, the observed differences between the two religious groups considered here are, on the whole, not impressive. Very evident in the data for fathers and mothers is that, among both Protestants and Catholics, the percentage of parents having high goals for their sons increases steadily (with a few minor reversals) as we move from the lower working class to the upper class.

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[1] See the preceding discussion of the relation between race and ethnic origin and goals.

[2] Parents of other religious groups were represented in too small numbers to warrant their inclusion in the analysis.

[3] In this stratum the difference is 15 percent but there are only 21 upper-class Catholics and consequently this finding may not be reliable.

[4] Fifty-seven percent of whom have high educational goals compared with 41 percent of the Catholic mothers.

Number of Children in the Family

It might be supposed that the size of their families would influence parents' goals: the fewer the number of children, the more likely parents having high aspirations would be to conclude they could afford a college education, and consequently the more likely they would be to have high goals for them.[1] This relationship between size of family and parental goals would be expected particularly in the lower classes where income is relatively limited and uncertain.

The data of Table 7.22 provide some support for this expectation. The data indicate that in the lower working-, upper working-, and lower-middle classes, as the proportion of fathers and mothers having high goals is larger for those having one child than for parents having more children. This association between one-child families[2] and high goals obtains only for upper middle-class mothers. The high goals of the three lower-strata parents with one-child families may reflect their intention to husband their resources and plan their families in order to maximize the possibility of the single child securing a college education.

Large families (6 or more children) are negatively associated with high parental goals. In eight of the ten possible comparisons, a smaller proportion of the parents having this number of children have high goals than of those having fewer children. Moreover, in the two exceptions (upper working-class fathers and lower working-class mothers) the smallest proportion of parents seen to have high goals are those having four or five children. Thus parental goals tend to be negatively correlated with larger families (four or more children) in all social classes.

Finally, examination of the columns of Table 7.22 shows that the relation between social class and parents' goals for their children holds for families of all sizes. Whether the families be large or small, the higher their social-class position, the greater tends to be the proportion of fathers and mothers having high goals for their sons.

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[1] See Bert N. Adams and Miles T. Meidam, "Economics, Family Structure, and College Attendance," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 74, November, 1966, pp. 230-239. See, too, Richard A. Rehberg and David L. Westley, "Parental Encouragement, Occupation, Education and Family Size: Artifactual or Independent Determinants of Adolescent Educational Expectations?" Social Forces, Vol. 45, March, 1967, pp. 362-374.

[2] Attention is called to the small number of one-child families in these groups.

Summary

The argument running through this chapter ties together a number of strands we began weaving earlier. The chapter also clarifies the persistent problem of whether and why parents' educational plans for their children vary by their social-class position.[1]

Chapter 1 presented our model of the determinants of goal setting. Chapter 3 showed that the influence of the family on the level at which boys set their educational goals far outweighs that of the type of school they attend. This finding posed the problem of how families exert this influence. Our data in Chapter 5 showed that the level of boys' aspirations was more determinative of their goals than their perceptions of the feasibility of obtaining a college education. Accordingly, Chapter 6 investigated the conditions of correspondence between boys' aspirations and the variable our model and the data of Chapter 3 suggested would most strongly influence them--the educational goals of their parents. The data of Chapter 6 showed that, in all social classes and whether parent-child relations were positive or negative, parents' goals were strongly related to their sons' aspirations. Therefore the present chapter took on the task of explaining the conditions under which parents' goals are likely to be high or low.

Our thoroughgoing distinction between aspirations and goals enabled us to clarify whether parents' goals vary with social class. Theoretical considerations led us to conclude that parents in all social classes will hold high aspirations [2] (which may, however, vary in intensity), but that their goals will vary positively by their social-class position.

It follows, then, that social class must affect parents' estimates of the feasibility of their sons finishing college. Many of the variables explored in this chapter represent aspects of parents' perception of feasibility. Our general finding has been that, with family social class held constant, the higher parents think their sons' chances of getting a college education, the more likely they are to set high educational goals for them. The other major group of variables treated here concerned various aspects of parents' job satisfaction. We assumed that, in the lower social classes, parents who are dissatisfied with their jobs would attach greater intensity to their high educational aspirations. This intensity could then lead them to disregard or revise upward their predominantly low feasibility estimates--which, in turn, would increase the probability of their setting high goals. For the most part, our data confirmed this prediction.

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[1] See the literature cited in the chapter. Other relevant literature is cited at the beginning of Chapter 5.

[2] We present direct evidence for this proposition from the study by Jaffe and Adams (op. cit.) and indirect evidence from our own study.

TABLE 7.1

HOW OFTEN FATHERS AND MOTHERS SAID FATHER COULD HAVE GOTTEN AHEAD WITH MORE EDUCATION

Family Social Class	3 or More Times (%)	1 or 2 Times (%)	Never (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
	Fathers				
Lower Working	65	13	22	100	115
Upper Working	51	20	29	100	379
Lower Middle	38	23	38	99	391
Upper Middle	10	21	69	100	245
Upper	5	13	82	100	136
	Mothers				
Lower Working	38	22	40	100	134
Upper Working	27	20	54	101	416
Lower Middle	21	16	63	100	401
Upper Middle	6	8	87	101	265
Upper	1	2	96	99	136

TABLE 7.2

FATHERS' AND MOTHERS' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE AMOUNT OF EDUCATION FATHER OBTAINED

Family Social Class	Fathers					
	Very Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Satisfied (%)	Very Satisfied (%)	Total	
					(%)	(No.)
Lower Working	43	30	14	14	101	88
Upper Working	27	44	24	5	100	305
Lower Middle	16	31	37	15	99	353
Upper Middle	2	8	46	43	99	218
Upper	4	1	35	60	100	123
	Mothers					
Lower Working	14	35	34	17	100	80
Upper Working	7	20	44	29	100	294
Lower Middle	6	12	40	43	101	316
Upper Middle	6	3	17	74	100	239
Upper	7	2	5	86	100	130

TABLE 7.3

SONS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEY THINK FATHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION MADE IT HARDER OR EASIER FOR FATHER TO MAKE A LIVING

Family Social Class	Harder (%)	Easier (%)	No Difference (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
Lower Working	63	12	24	99	111
Upper Working	55	20	25	100	378
Lower Middle	37	41	22	100	389
Upper Middle	5	87	9	101	241
Upper	4	94	2	100	134

TABLE 7.4

SONS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEY THINK FATHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION MADE FATHER'S LIFE LESS OR MORE INTERESTING

Family Social Class	Less Interesting (%)	More Interesting (%)	No Difference (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
Lower Working	44	28	28	100	110
Upper Working	33	27	39	99	372
Lower Middle	22	42	35	99	387
Upper Middle	4	85	11	100	241
Upper	2	90	8	100	136

TABLE 7.5

SONS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEY THINK FATHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION EARNED HIM LESS OR MORE RESPECT FROM OTHERS

Family Social Class	Less Respect (%)	More Respect (%)	No Difference (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
Lower Working	16	17	67	100	109
Upper Working	7	16	76	99	375
Lower Middle	5	35	61	101	386
Upper Middle	1	74	25	100	237
Upper	1	88	10	99	137

TABLE 7.6

SONS' ESTIMATE OF HOW FAR MOTHER AND FATHER THINK SON CAN GO IN SCHOOL*

Family Social Class	Don't Know (%)	High School or Less (%)	Junior College (%)	4 or More College (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
			Fathers			
Lower Working	18	10	27	46	101	113
Upper Working	19	5	20	56	100	387
Lower Middle	10	4	15	72	101	396
Upper Middle	9	1	8	82	100	246
Upper	7	1	7	86	101	137
			Mothers			
Lower Working	19	8	25	48	100	145
Upper Working	12	4	24	60	100	434
Lower Middle	10	2	12	77	101	415
Upper Middle	9	1	10	80	100	274
Upper	8	0	5	87	100	139

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* The question answered by the students was, "In his (her) opinion, how far could you go in school if you tried your best?"

TABLE 7.7

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON

Family Social Class	Fathers		Mothers	
Lower Working	21%	(113)*	23%	(146)
Upper Working	27%	(386)	27%	(437)
Lower Middle	46%	(395)	48%	(415)
Upper Middle	59%	(245)	53%	(273)
Upper	67%	(137)	67%	(138)

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* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.8

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS GROUPED BY FATHER'S EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE LEVEL, AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION AND FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE LEVEL

Father's Occupational Prestige Level[*]	Fathers		
	High School or Less	Some College	4 or More Years College
6,7 (Lowest)	22% (83)[**]	25% (8)	25% (12)
5	29% (189)	25% (43)	33% (30)
4	25% (72)	49% (37)	44% (18)
3	38% (152)	40% (62)	64% (80)
2	47% (105)	50% (37)	67% (79)
1 (Highest)	50% (28)	100% (5)	72% (167)
		Mothers	
6,7 (Lowest)	24% (80)	33% (9)	30% (10)
5	28% (197)	34% (29)	28% (29)
4	35% (88)	53% (17)	56% (9)
3	42% (179)	55% (62)	54% (52)
2	43% (122)	55% (40)	54% (41)
1 (Highest)	60% (55)	58% (43)	73% (95)

[*] The ranking of occupations follows Hollingshead's usage. (See A.B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, New Haven, 1957, mimeographed.)

[**] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated for each group.

TABLE 7.9

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY SON'S ESTIMATE OF HOW FAR HIS FATHER AND MOTHER THINK HE CAN GO IN SCHOOL*

Family Social Class	Don't Know		High School or Less		Junior College		4 or More Years College	
	Son's Estimate of Father's Evaluation							
Lower Working	5%	(20)**	0%	(11)	10%	(30)	40%	(52)
Upper Working	12%	(74)	0%	(21)	11%	(76)	41%	(216)
Lower Middle	8%	(38)	0%	(14)	18%	(60)	59%	(284)
Upper Middle	26%	(22)	0%	(3)	25%	(20)	67%	(201)
Upper	22%	(9)	0%	(1)	33%	(9)	77%	(118)
	Son's Estimate of Mother's Evaluation							
Lower Working	11%	(28)	0%	(12)	11%	(36)	39%	(69)
Upper Working	16%	(51)	5%	(19)	10%	(105)	39%	(259)
Lower Middle	20%	(41)	0%	(8)	4%	(48)	60%	(318)
Upper Middle	17%	(24)	0%	(3)	21%	(28)	62%	(219)
Upper	18%	(11)	0%	(0)	29%	(7)	74%	(121)

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* The question answered by the students was, "In his (her) opinion, how far could you go in school if you tried your best?"

** The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.10

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY SON'S AVERAGE GRADE*

Family Social Class	Fathers					
	Son's Average Grade					
	Low		Intermediate		High	
Lower Working	18%	(50)**	24%	(41)	30%	(20)
Upper Working	17%	(112)	24%	(174)	47%	(94)
Lower Middle	29%	(90)	44%	(180)	65%	(113)
Upper Middle	51%	(35)	49%	(105)	73%	(101)
Upper	44%	(16)	71%	(55)	76%	(66)
	Mothers					
Lower Working	13%	(61)	26%	(54)	38%	(24)
Upper Working	17%	(133)	27%	(196)	43%	(96)
Lower Middle	29%	(95)	45%	(179)	69%	(127)
Upper Middle	30%	(40)	46%	(113)	68%	(116)
Upper	63%	(16)	66%	(58)	71%	(65)

* Average grades were obtained from school records. The grade was the student's average for the preceding semester on solid subjects. In calculating the average, A's were given a weight of 5; B's 4, C's 3, D's 2, F's 1. An average of 2.4 or less is here characterized as "low," 2.5 to 3.4 as "intermediate," and 3.5 or higher as "high."

** The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.11

FATHERS' AND MOTHERS' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH FATHER'S INCOME

Family Social Class	Very Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Satisfied (%)	Very Satisfied (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
Fathers						
Lower Working	8	19	56	17	100	84
Upper Working	7	20	55	18	100	312
Lower Middle	6	15	54	25	100	349
Upper Middle	9	10	43	38	100	215
Upper	10	7	50	33	100	118
Mothers						
Lower Working	16	11	33	40	100	106
Upper Working	7	10	41	42	100	385
Lower Middle	8	8	30	54	100	338
Upper Middle	6	6	23	65	100	234
Upper	6	4	15	75	100	120

TABLE 7.12

FATHERS' AND MOTHERS' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Family Social Class	Very Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Satisfied (%)	Very Satisfied (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
			Fathers			
Lower Working	13	22	48	17	100	83
Upper Working	12	13	41	33	99	330
Lower Middle	12	10	36	41	99	357
Upper Middle	14	5	22	59	100	229
Upper	12	4	24	60	100	131
			Mothers			
Lower Working	16	15	39	30	100	106
Upper Working	6	10	44	39	99	350
Lower Middle	5	6	33	56	100	362
Upper Middle	4	3	27	65	99	248
Upper	6	2	11	80	99	128

TABLE 7.13

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH FATHER'S INCOME

Family Social Class	Fathers							
	Very dissatisfied		Pretty dissatisfied		Pretty Satisfied		Very Satisfied	
Lower Working	43%	(7)*	0%	(16)	34%	(47)	7%	(14)
Upper Working	27%	(22)	36%	(61)	28%	(173)	27%	(56)
Lower Middle	52%	(21)	61%	(54)	43%	(187)	51%	(87)
Upper Middle	70%	(20)	50%	(22)	57%	(92)	63%	(81)
Upper	67%	(12)	63%	(8)	72%	(60)	67%	(39)
	Mothers							
Lower Working	29%	(17)	17%	(12)	29%	(35)	36%	(42)
Upper Working	25%	(24)	24%	(34)	24%	(143)	28%	(144)
Lower Middle	54%	(26)	56%	(27)	53%	(103)	48%	(182)
Upper Middle	29%	(14)	54%	(13)	57%	(54)	57%	(153)
Upper	57%	(7)	100%	(5)	67%	(18)	72%	(90)

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* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.14

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE KIND OF WORK FATHER DOES

Family Social Class	Very dissatisfied		Pretty dissatisfied		Pretty Satisfied		Very Satisfied	
	Fathers							
Lower Working	36%	(11)*	39%	(18)	18%	(40)	14%	(14)
Upper Working	27%	(41)	43%	(44)	21%	(135)	33%	(110)
Lower Middle	52%	(42)	51%	(37)	51%	(130)	42%	(148)
Upper Middle	58%	(33)	50%	(12)	58%	(50)	63%	(134)
Upper	50%	(16)	80%	(5)	77%	(31)	72%	(79)
	Mothers							
Lower Working	38%	(16)	19%	(16)	20%	(40)	32%	(31)
Upper Working	32%	(22)	29%	(35)	22%	(155)	30%	(138)
Lower Middle	59%	(17)	50%	(22)	48%	(121)	48%	(202)
Upper Middle	55%	(11)	75%	(8)	48%	(67)	55%	(162)
Upper	63%	(8)	67%	(3)	71%	(14)	71%	(103)

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[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.15

FATHERS' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION IF SON HAD SAME OCCUPATION AS FATHER

Family Social Class	Very Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Dissatisfied (%)	Pretty Satisfied (%)	Very Satisfied (%)	Total (%)	Total (No.)
Lower Working	58	23	12	6	99	81
Upper Working	29	33	30	9	101	289
Lower Middle	15	26	35	23	99	305
Upper Middle	11	11	35	43	100	191
Upper	15	6	32	46	99	112

TABLE 7.16

FATHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS GROUPED BY SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION IF SON HAD SAME OCCUPATION AS FATHER

Family Social Class	Very dissatisfied		Pretty dissatisfied		Pretty Satisfied		Very Satisfied	
Lower Working	30%	(47)*	26%	(19)	10%	(10)	20%	(5)
Upper Working	40%	(83)	38%	(94)	22%	(87)	12%	(25)
Lower Middle	57%	(47)	56%	(80)	43%	(108)	31%	(70)
Upper Middle	43%	(21)	81%	(21)	61%	(67)	62%	(82)
Upper	65%	(17)	57%	(7)	75%	(36)	73%	(52)

* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.17

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH AMOUNT OF EDUCATION FATHER OBTAINED

Family Social Class	Very dissatisfied		Pretty dissatisfied		Pretty Satisfied		Very Satisfied	
	Fathers							
Lower Working	34%	(38)[*]	23%	(26)	17%	(12)	8%	(12)
Upper Working	46%	(84)	26%	(134)	25%	(72)	13%	(15)
Lower Middle	43%	(58)	55%	(110)	43%	(131)	52%	(54)
Upper Middle	60%	(5)	41%	(17)	65%	(101)	62%	(93)
Upper	40%	(5)	100%	(1)	74%	(43)	70%	(74)
	Mothers							
Lower Working	27%	(11)	18%	(28)	37%	(27)	14%	(14)
Upper Working	10%	(20)	27%	(60)	23%	(130)	27%	(84)
Lower Middle	67%	(18)	54%	(37)	50%	(126)	49%	(135)
Upper Middle	50%	(14)	71%	(7)	50%	(40)	55%	(178)
Upper	56%	(9)	100%	(2)	100%	(7)	69%	(112)

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[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.18

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY HOW OFTEN FATHERS AND MOTHERS SAID FATHER COULD HAVE GOTTEN AHEAD WITH MORE EDUCATION

Family Social Class	Fathers		
	3 or More Times	1 or 2 Times	Never
Lower Working	24% (75)[*]	33% (15)	8% (25)
Upper Working	36% (193)	19% (77)	17% (109)
Lower Middle	52% (150)	45% (91)	40% (150)
Upper Middle	64% (25)	67% (51)	56% (169)
Upper	86% (7)	76% (17)	68% (112)
	Mothers		
Lower Working	33% (51)	28% (29)	17% (54)
Upper Working	27% (11)	32% (82)	25% (223)
Lower Middle	63% (83)	43% (65)	45% (253)
Upper Middle	60% (15)	60% (20)	52% (230)
Upper	100% (2)	67% (3)	69% (131)

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[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.19

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION*

Father's Position	Fathers	Mothers
Foreman	27% (41)**	33% (43)
Skilled (Supervisory)	30% (111)	30% (98)
Skilled (Non-supervisory)	22% (45)	20% (40)

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[*] The data of this table are for upper working-class parents only.

[**] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentage the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.20

WHITE, BLACK, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON

Family Social Class	Fathers		
	White	Black	Mexican-American
Lower Working	27% (51)*	12% (26)	15% (27)
Upper Working	29% (313)	17% (29)	13% (24)
Lower Middle	46% (370)	56% (9)	40% (5)
	Mothers		
Lower Working	24% (72)	23% (30)	15% (33)
Upper Working	29% (365)	26% (27)	13% (24)
Lower Middle	49% (387)	60% (10)	33% (6)

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[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.21

PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON

Family Social Class	Fathers			
	Protestant		Catholic	
Lower Working	24%	(38)*	20%	(55)
Upper Working	30%	(163)	23%	(159)
Lower Middle	46%	(198)	46%	(107)
Upper Middle	61%	(145)	59%	(59)
Upper	72%	(81)	57%	(21)
	Mothers			
Lower Working	15%	(53)	24%	(62)
Upper Working	31%	(208)	23%	(173)
Lower Middle	52%	(223)	42%	(125)
Upper Middle	57%	(169)	41%	(68)
Upper	67%	(87)	64%	(22)

* The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

TABLE 7.22

FATHERS AND MOTHERS HAVING HIGH EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR SON, WITH FATHERS AND MOTHERS GROUPED BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Family Social Class	Fathers				
	Number of Children				
	1	2	3	4-5	6 or more
Lower Working	43% (7)[*]	26% (19)	29% (14)	21% (28)	18% (33)
Upper Working	47% (19)	32% (77)	28% (98)	21% (109)	26% (50)
Lower Middle	61% (23)	41% (103)	53% (113)	49% (94)	35% (40)
Upper Middle	56% (9)	74% (58)	64% (74)	48% (69)	44% (27)
Upper	75% (4)	68% (22)	76% (51)	69% (45)	50% (14)
	Mothers				
Lower Working	50% (8)	24% (25)	25% (20)	16% (45)	26% (47)
Upper Working	40% (20)	33% (107)	28% (116)	23% (124)	21% (63)
Lower Middle	65% (23)	50% (115)	48% (126)	50% (108)	32% (41)
Upper Middle	67% (9)	55% (64)	60% (85)	47% (86)	43% (30)
Upper	80% (5)	86% (21)	62% (55)	70% (43)	50% (14)

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[*] The numbers in parentheses are the base from which the percentages to the left of them were calculated.

CHAPTER 8

COMPARISON OF PARENTS' AND BOYS' REPORTS: A METHODOLOGICAL STUDY

The preceding five chapters have attempted to account for differences among boys' educational goals. The data of the chapters--including considerable material bearing on parents--were obtained from the boys' two questionnaires and supplemented by counselors' evaluations of the boys and school records (grades). In this chapter we use, for the first time, data secured through interviews with a group of 277 fathers and mothers.[1]

The interviews were meant to serve methodological and substantive purposes.[2] The methodological objective was primary: it was to determine the extent of agreement between boys' and parents' reports of matters which in one form or another have been--and will continue to be--included in studies of the determinants of students' educational and occupational aspirations and goals. Due to budgetary limitations or other considerations, most such studies are restricted to students as the source of data regarding themselves and their families. There is rarely any external check on the correctness of the information and typically this aspect of the data is not even speculatively discussed.

The accuracy of boys' reports on the education and occupation of the head of the household is significant because of the fact that in virtually all studies of students' aspirations and goals, these variables are used, either separately or in combination as measures of family social class.

It is a truism that confidence in the results of any scientific study is, in large part, a function of the quality of its data. The data of studies such as ours generally consist of reports by students about (a) questions of fact regarding themselves and their families, and (b) their own and their parents' attitudes. The correctness of neither type of data can be taken for granted; the issue, therefore, should be given more attention that it usually is.[3]

The present study of the problem differs in three important respects from most other investigations. First, it takes into account a broader range of data. Second, most of the parental data[4] were obtained from fathers and mothers in separate but simultaneous interviews. Third, the reports of boys and parents are compared with the group subdivided into working-class and middle-class families. This allows us to determine whether the accuracy of boys' reports varies with family social-class position.

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[1] See Chapter 2 for a description of the parents and the interview procedures.

[2] The substantive questions investigated in the parent interviews are reported in the next chapter.

[3] A related question about attitudinal data which is also frequently ignored is that of validity; i.e., whether the items being used as measures of some variable indeed measure what they are purported to measure.

[4] A few of the questions were asked of only one parent.

This chapter first discusses some difficulties in the interpretation of agreement or disagreement between parents' and boys' reports. It then presents the findings from the comparison of the two sets of reports in our study.

Interpretation of Agreement and Disagreement

One feature of the present study of reports of children and parents whose impact is difficult to assess is the difference in method used to collect the data from the two sources.[1] Parents answered questions put to them orally by an interviewer, whereas the sons filled out questionnaires in a classroom setting, along with other students. Thus, parents may have been subject to an interviewer effect.[2] Their identity was known to the interviewer and in responding to questions from a person associated in their minds with a major educational institution, some may have been constrained to give socially approved responses.[3] Although the boys were asked to sign their questionnaires, they were assured their names would be removed when the form reached the research office. In any case, they were not directly confronted in a face-to-face situation with a representative of the educational establishment, and therefore may have been able to answer the questions relatively free of the need to present a "favorable face."[1] The boys, however, were less controlled by the context in which they were responding to the questions: their attention could more easily wander, and they could take the task less seriously if they were so disposed. They could have been influenced by their perception of the spirit in which their peers were filling out the questionnaires.[2] Moreover, they lacked the opportunity available to the parents to ask for clarification of questions. These circumstances could have had a differential effect on the data obtained from the parents and children, but we cannot demonstrate this to be the case.[3]

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[1] This difficulty is inherent in any study of students and their parents since parents cannot be assembled in a meeting place--like students in a class--to fill out questionnaires.

[2] We consider the possibility of "interviewer effect" in the discussion of a number of our findings. For an extended treatment of this phenomenon, see Herbert H. Hyman, Interviewing in Social Research, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1954.

[3] For a discussion of the ways in which situations can elicit such responses, see Martin T. Orne, "On the Social Psychology of the Psychological Experiment: With Particular Reference to the Demand Characteristics and Their Implications," in Carl W. Backman and Paul F. Secord (Eds.), Problems in Social Psychology, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966. See, also, Robert Rosenthal, Experimenter Effects in Behavioral Research, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1966.

In addition to discrepancies between the reports of the two sets of informants that might have resulted from the variation in how the data were obtained, other considerations must be kept in mind in judging what the evidence tells us about the accuracy of boys' reports. First, there is the fact that agreement between boys' reports and their parents' reports does not necessarily attest to their accuracy. If we assume a common tendency to picture oneself favorably, both boys and parents could have misrepresented the facts in the same direction. Secondly, evidence of divergence in the boys' and their parents' reports does not unequivocally prove the reports of the former were less correct. Divergence in responses to some questions could have resulted from parents being more motivated than their sons to conceive of themselves--or to describe themselves to others--as having what they believed to be socially approved attitudes or values. Moreover, differences between sons' and parents' reports could reflect genuine differences in their perception and, consequently, could not be regarded as evidence of error in the data obtained from either parents or sons. Finally, it should be recalled that there was an interval of months between the administration of the questionnaires in the schools and the interviews with parents.[4] Some of the differences between reports of parents and sons, therefore, might correctly reflect changes that had occurred during this interval.

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[1] This line of reasoning is supported by the findings of an interesting study by Alexander and Knight. They concluded that subjects' responses were governed by efforts to maximize the different "situated identities" implied in face-to-face presentations, contrasted with those where subjects remain anonymous. We can thus assume that the identity implied (and, for actors, "at stake") in the interview with parents is substantially different from that confronting the students responding to a questionnaire in a classroom. See C. Norman Alexander and Gordon W. Knight, "Situated Identity and Social Psychological Experimentation," Laboratory for Social Research, Stanford University, Stanford (Sociometry, forthcoming).

[2] The condition is absent in the interview situation.

[3] This also applies to the two studies cited later in the chapter.

[4] The reasons for this time lapse are discussed in Chapter 2.

Findings From Comparison of Boys' and Parents' Reports

Similar questions were asked of boys and parents in many areas. In presenting the data comparing their responses, we have grouped the questions into three categories distinguished by the amount of agreement that was to be expected in view of the nature of the questions. The first category includes items--known equally well to parents and sons--on which one might presume there would be the least discrepancies between boys' and parents' reports (e.g., whether student has his own room). The second category is made up of items on which parents have more precise knowledge than their sons. (An example is fathers' level of education.) The third category consists of data on which greatest disagreement could be anticipated. Most of the items in this category require judgments or interpretation of attitudes or values. (Example: Boys' reports of how much education their parents want them to get and parents' own report on the question.) The findings for the three groups of items follow.

Data on Which Most Agreement Was to be Expected

The items subsumed under this rubric refer to matters of fact. Supposedly these could be accurately reported with equal accuracy by both boys and their parents.[1] Barring misunderstanding of the questions of carelessness in answering, one would expect a high degree of son-parent agreement in their responses. The seven items[2] considered here are: number of children in the family, whether family owns or rents the home, whether student has his own room, number of newspapers family receives, whether there is an encyclopedia in the home, number of books in the home, and whether mother works.[3] The correspondence between reports of sons and parents on the items is shown in Table 8.1, with respondents divided by social class.

The percentages of Table 8.1 show that except in response to the question of whether there is an encyclopedia in the home,[4] there is greater parent-son agreement in the middle class than in the working class. On all but one item--number of books in the home--the class difference, while small, is consistent for mothers and fathers. Although, as pointed out earlier, agreement in parent-son reports is not necessarily proof of the accuracy of the data secured from the son, we are disposed to assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the greater the agreement on questions such as those included in Table 8.1, the more confidence we can have in the data. The findings of Table 8.1, therefore, are tentatively taken to indicate a somewhat smaller margin of error in the reports of middle-class boys than of those from working-class families.

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[1] This is true of all but one item (number of books in the home), which required an estimate and could entail considerable error.

[2] For the wording of the questions, see Appendix B, Forms A and B, and Parent Interview Schedule.

[3] Four of these questions were asked of mothers and not of fathers. A fifth question included in the mothers' interview ("Does your family get any magazines regularly?") is omitted because it was worded differently in the boys' questionnaire ("What magazines do your parents get regularly?")

[4] On this item the middle-class and working-class group do not differ in extent of parent-son agreement.

We will not discuss the amount of parent-son agreement on each of the items. If agreement is accepted as a measure of the quality of the data secured (by questionnaire) from the study's tenth-grade boys, it can be said that the items indicate a rather satisfactory level of accuracy. The one marked exception is the large discrepancy between boys and mothers in their estimates of the number of books in the home.[1] With this item omitted, the average percentage of mother-son agreement on six questions is 90 in the middle class and 84 in the working class; the average percentage of father-son agreement on three times is 94 in the middle class and 88 in the working class.

Items on Which Parents' Information is More Precise: Their Education and Occupation

These are factual items about which parents can be presumed to have more precise knowledge than their sons. They are important because parents' education and occupation (usually fathers') are so frequently used separately or in combination to indicate family socio-economic status or social class. And such variables--given the many aspects of a family which they reflect--are usually found to be the strongest determinants of students' school achievement and their educational aspirations and goals. Some knowledge of the accuracy with which this variable is measured--typically with information obtained from students by questionnaire--is, therefore, of great significance. The extent of parent-son agreement in their reports of parents' level of education and occupation is shown in Table 8.2. The findings of each of the four items warrant comment.

We consider first boys' and mothers' reports of how far mothers went in school.[2] The percentages of Table 8.2 show that complete agreement between mothers and sons is slightly larger for the middle class (76) than for the working class (70). These percentages increase to 92 and 100, respectively, when the proportion of pairs who disagree by only one response category are added. What is noteworthy is the finding that sons tend to report the higher level of education for their mothers.[1] About three-fourths of the working-class boys and half of the middle-class boys who differ with their mothers describe them as having more education than do the mothers themselves. In most cases, this overestimation is of small magnitude. This tendency to overestimate is also evident in boys' reports of their fathers' education.

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[1] The percentage in agreement is 31 for the working class and 50 for the middle class. In both social classes, a large proportion of mothers gave lower estimates than their sons of the number of books in their home.

[2] The response categories compared were: less than tenth grade, tenth or eleventh grade, finished high school, 1 to 3 years of junior college or university, finished 4 years of college, and finished more than 4 years of college.

Two interpretations for this finding suggest themselves. One is that some parents are moved to give their children the impression that they had more education than in fact they did, thereby presenting a more favorable picture of themselves. A second explanation is that sons, in answering about their parents in the classroom situation, may feel better in reporting their parents' education to be somewhat higher than they know it to be.

Mothers' occupations were classified on seven levels ranging from professional work to unskilled work.[2] Mother-son agreement[3] on the seven-point occupational scale is lower for women of both social classes than that found for mothers' education. As in the latter case, the agreement is greater for the middle-class pairs (65) than for the working-class pairs (58). If mothers' occupations are treated dichotomously, as white collar or blue collar, the agreement percentages increase to 91 and 84 percent, respectively, for the two groups.

Father-son reports of the fathers' education and occupation are not compared--as were the preceding items--with the parent-son pairs divided by social class.[4] The agreement percentages on these reports for the total group are shown in Table 8.2.

The 60-percent agreement between fathers and sons in their reports of fathers' education is considerably lower than mother-son agreement on mothers' education. The degree of discrepancy between fathers and sons is, however, not large: the agreement percentage becomes 90 when it includes pairs who differ by only one response category. The father-son differences result largely from overestimation by boys of their fathers' education. Approximately two-thirds of the boys whose reports disagree with those of their fathers describe the fathers as having more education than the fathers themselves indicate.[1]

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[1] We assume that mothers' reports are correct, since there is no reason to believe they would represent themselves to interviewers as having less education than they do.

[2] The classification paralles that used in Hollingshead's grouping of occupations for determining family social-class position. See Chapter 2 for a description of Hollingshead's procedure for ranking families by social-class position.

[3] There are 74 employed working-class mothers and 34 of the middle class whose reports of the work they are doing can be compared with their sons' questionnaire reports. All but a few of the remaining mothers said they were not employed; a small number who reported an occupation were described by their sons as having no job outside the home.

[4] This was not done for these variables because they constitute the basis for the assignment of families to social class.

Fathers' occupations, like those of mothers, were ranked on Hollingshead's seven-point scale. Rankings based on boys' reports and on fathers' own description of their work were the same for only 65 percent of the total group. As in the case of the reports of fathers' education, the discrepancies between sons' and fathers' reports are small, most of them being no more than one point on the scale. Allowing for this degree of divergence raises the father-son agreement percentage to 90, and if occupations are grouped as white collar or blue collar, the agreement percentage is 93.

Differences in ranking of fathers' occupations--when based on fathers' and sons' reports--are not systematic. In about half the cases in which the rankings were not in accord, a higher rank was assigned fathers' occupation and in the other half a lower rank was assigned. This random nature of father-son differences reflects the fact that the ranking based on boys' reports was often in error because of the incompleteness in boys' descriptions of their fathers' work.[2]

Our study, like many others, has used fathers' education and occupation for assignment of families to a social-class position. It therefore is of interest now to compare this assignment when based on information from boys' questionnaire reports and fathers' own statements.

As was anticipated from the extent of father-son agreement in their reports of fathers' education and occupation, family social-class position[3] is not always the same when derived from data obtained from the sons as when based on information secured from the fathers: the family class assignment is similar for only 70 percent of the father-son pairs. In most instances, however, the extent of divergence is one social-class position. Allowing for this degree of discrepancy produces an agreement percentage of 96. The agreement percentage is 85 when social class is bifurcated into working class (lower and upper) and middle class (lower middle, upper middle, and upper).[1]

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[1] This tendency on the part of the boys to overestimate their fathers' education has been discussed earlier in connection with a similar finding for mothers.

[2] See in this connection, Paul Wallin and Leslie C. Waldo, "Indeterminacies in Ranking of Fathers' Occupations," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 28 , 1964, pp. 287-292.

[3] Upper, upper middle, lower middle, upper working, and lower working.

In general, comparison of the data obtained from parents and their sons indicate only approximate correspondence between boys' reports and parents' reports of their education and occupation. The rather low incidence of complete agreement in the two sets of reports suggests that data about parents' education and occupation--and derivatively about family social class--when secured from their children are best used, for accuracy, if the multiple categories of the variables are combined into dichotomies.

Comparison of Parents' and Boys' Reports on Which Least Agreement Was to be Expected: Attitudes

The data examined in this section are responses of parents and sons to questions about their attitudes. (Some questions concern parents' attitudes and some concern children's attitudes.) Our interest concerns the extent of parent-son agreement in reports of these attitudes. Of particular interest is the amount of agreement regarding parents' attitudes (e.g., how far parent wants boy to go in school), because research on student aspirations or goals relies on the reports of children about their parents' attitudes. And, since a number of these attitudes presumably play a large part in influencing children's orientation to education, it is important to determine how accurately the attitudes are reported by children.[2] The correctness of children's reports of their own attitudes must also be assessed, but this often can be done by tests of internal consistency or other means not as readily available for evaluating data on parental attitudes.

Parent attitudes: parents' and sons' reports

We first take up (a) questions asked of parents regarding their own attitudes and (b) the corresponding questions about the parents which were asked of their sons. Parent-son agreement on these items is indicated in Table 8.3 and discussed below.

"How far does parent want boy to go in school?" is used in the present study as a measure of the educational goal parents have set for their sons.[3]

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[1] Despite the tendency for boys to overestimate their fathers' level of education, family social-class position is higher in only a small proportion of cases when based on boys' reports than when derived from information secured from fathers. This is because fathers' occupation is weighted more heavily than their education in the determination of family social-class position.

[2] For reasons advanced at the outset of this chapter, it is difficult to establish this unequivocally.

[3] It is to be distinguished from parents' aspirations; i.e., how far they would like their sons to go in school, if there was nothing to stop them. Data on parents' aspirations were secured from neither parents nor sons.

Parent-son agreement in their answers[1] is very low.[2] Where parent-son responses diverge, a systematic social-class difference is evident: working-class fathers and mothers are more apt than middle-class parents to represent themselves as having a higher goal for their sons than their sons impute to them. This class difference is greater for fathers than for mothers.

When responses to the question of parents' educational goal are dichotomized (4 years or more of college versus less), parent-son agreement percentages rise substantially to 78 and 92 for working-class and middle-class mothers respectively, and to 74 and 89 for the fathers.[3] The lower parent-son agreement in the working class largely reflects the greater incidence of fathers and mothers in this group who say they want their sons to have 4 or more years of college but whose sons say their parents want less education for them. This provides some basis for assuming that working-class boys' reports of their parents' goal for them are more accurate than their parents' reports. If, however, parent-son agreement is used as the sole criterion of accuracy we would conclude that more accurate data on parents' goals are secured from middle-class students.[4]

All but a small minority of parents of both social classes indicated that they thought their sons could finish 4 or more years of college if they tried their best.[5] Therefore, to compare their estimates with sons' reports of how much ability their parents think they have, we treat the ability variable as a dichotomy, the categories being 4 or more years of college and less than 4 years.[1] The findings on parent-son agreement for this item correspond closely to those obtained when parents' goal is treated as a dichotomous variable. The agreement percentages are higher for middle-class than for working-class parents, although the class difference between mothers is small on the ability variable and is probably due to chance.[2] Moreover, when there is parent-son disagreement, the class difference is similar to that observed in reports of parents' goals. Working-class boys are more likely than middle-class boys to say their fathers and mothers think them capable of less than 4 years of college, while their parents describe them as capable of 4 years or more. This result again suggests the possibility of an interviewer effect.

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[1] The possible response categories were: more than 4 years of college, 4 years, a few years of college, less.

[2] The percentage of mothers and boys giving similar responses is 43 in the working class and 54 in the middle class. The parallel percentages for the fathers are 52 and 56.

[3] These are the percentages given in Table 8.3

[4] Parents also were asked how disappointed they would be if their sons did not go as far as they wanted them to in school; i.e., if their sons did not achieve the goals their parents had set for them. We are not using the data on this item because so many of the interviewers reported difficulty in getting an unequivocal response to this question from fathers and mothers. Parents tended to give defensive replies such as, "I wouldn't be disappointed because I would know he tried his best," or "I wouldn't be disappointed because whatever he decided would be O.K. with me." Fathers and mothers clearly did not wish to represent themselves to the interviewer as pushing their sons in the interest of realizing their own ambitions for their children. Since we believe most parents with high educational goals for their children cannot refrain from this kind of pressure on their sons, we assume that sons' reports of their parents' disappointment are more accurate than those which might be elicited from their parents.

[5] Fifty-eight percent of working-class mothers, and a similar percentage of fathers, reported their sons could finish more than 4 years.

We now consider parent-son agreement in their reports of how far parents expect their sons to go in school.[3] With the three possible expectation levels uncombined,[4] the agreement percentages are quite low.[5] Once more, however, the agreement percentages are slightly higher for the middle-class parents. We also find that, given divergence in parent-son reports, parents tend to describe themselves as having higher expectations than are imputed to them by their sons. This tendency, which is apparent in both social classes, is slightly more characteristic of fathers than of mothers.

When parent expectations are classified as 4 years of college and less than 4 years, the parent-son agreement percentages remain relatively low, but the class difference becomes negligible.[6]

The next item we examine for parent-son agreement differs in character from the three considered to this point. The question is "whether parent gets after son to do well in his school work." The possible qualitative responses to the question[1] are clearly susceptible to divergent interpretations among both parents and sons. It, therefore, is not surprising that this question[2] yields very low agreement percentages.[3] Even when response categories are dichotomized[4] the agreement percentages remain low.[5]

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[1] Due to an oversight, the question asked of the sons did not allow for 4 years of college and more than 4 years as separate possible responses. Consequently, we could not use these as two categories in the parent-son comparisons.

[2] The percentages for working-class and middle-class mothers are 80 and 84, respectively; for fathers they are 75 and 93, respectively.

[3] The data for this item were obtained somewhat indirectly by asking parents and sons whether parents would be surprised (yes/no) if sons finished high school, 2 years of college, 4 years. The highest level which would not surprise them is assumed to indicate parents' expectation.

[4] See preceding footnote.

[5] They are 51 and 64 for working- and middle-class mothers, and 59 and 66 for the two groups of fathers, respectively.

[6] The percentages for working- and middle-class mothers are 65 and 72; for fathers they are 74 and 76. These are the percentages given in Table 8.3.

The many cases of discrepancy between parents' and sons reports are striking for the very large proportions of parents describing themselves as exerting less pressure on their sons to do well in school than is ascribed to them by their sons. The discrepancy is observed for mothers and fathers of both classes, but is more marked in the working class. Two different explanations may account for this difference. One explanation invokes the interviewer effect. It assumes that parents think they present a more favorable view of their sons--and thus of themselves--in describing them as requiring relatively little supervision in their school work. An alternative explanation is that high school students--with their concern for autonomy--are highly sensitive to parental pressure and control, and, therefore, tend to impute more of it to their parents than they are, in fact, exercising.

Two items assessed for parent-son response agreement pertain to fathers' occupational satisfaction. As is the case with other attitudes of fathers and mothers, the accuracy of data on this matter obtained from students can be appraised by comparable reports from their parents. Our data are the responses of sons and parents to two questions asking for fathers' and mothers' evaluation of the occupation of the fathers.

The first question is how satisfied[6] parents were with the income from fathers' work. With the four response categories uncombined,[7] the parent-son agreement is quite low.[1] Where parents' and boys' reports diverge, there is some indication that the discrepancy is systematic. Parents tend to record less dissatisfaction with fathers' income than is imputed to them by their sons. This difference appears in all four groups of parents. It is substantial[2] for middle-class mothers and working-class fathers, but slight for the other groups of parents. We have no explanation for this variation among the parents. Dichotomization of the responses (satisfied versus dissatisfied) to this question raises the agreement percentages to 81 for both groups of mother-son pairs and to 69 and 77 for the working- and middle-class fathers.

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[1] "Don't have to get after him to do well, let him do what he wants about it, get after him but not hard, get after him quite a bit, get after him a lot."

[2] With the original responses uncombined.

[3] Thirty-one and 26 percent for working- and middle-class mothers; 25 and 36 percent for the fathers.

[4] Omitting "don't have to get after him," and combining "let him do what he wants about it" with "get after him but not hard," as against "get after him quite a bit" and "get after him a lot."

[5] Sixty-one and 54 percent for mothers and 48 and 56 percent for fathers. These are the percentages reported in Table 8.3.

[6] "Very satisfied, pretty satisfied, pretty dissatisfied, very dissatisfied."

[7] We excluded cases in which boys gave the "don't know" answer to the question. Eleven percent of the working-class boys and 13 percent of the middle-class boys said they didn't know how satisfied their mothers were; 18 percent of the working-class boys in contrast to the 8 percent of the middle-class group said they didn't know how satisfied their fathers were.

The second question regarding fathers' occupation was whether, "aside from the money," the parent was satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of work fathers have done for a living. As with the more specific question on income, when the response categories are uncombined,[3] the parent-son agreement percentages are very low.[4] There is evidence in only one of these groups--working-class fathers--of a consistent difference between parents and sons who diverge in their reports: these fathers describe themselves as more satisfied with their occupations than they are said to be by the sons.[5] This is not found for mothers--perhaps because working-class fathers may tend to be more sensitive than their wives and to the relatively low status of their work and, consequently be more disposed in an interview with a middle-class person to evaluate their occupation somewhat defensively. Another interpretation is that working-class fathers may represent themselves to their sons as more dissatisfied with their work than they really are in order to motivate them to strive for a college education.

When response categories are combined[6] the parent-son agreement percentages increase to 77 and 90 for working- and middle-class mothers and to 69 and 72 for the corresponding groups of fathers. To the extent that parent-son agreement is regarded as the criterion of the accuracy of boys' reports of mothers' and fathers' general satisfaction with fathers' occupation, these percentages would suggest a greater degree of accuracy in sons' reports about mothers (and particularly those in the middle class).

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[1] Fifty and 65 percent for working- and middle-class mothers, respectively, and 44 and 45 for the fathers.

[2] Where there is a parent-son disagreement, roughly two-thirds of the parents register a higher degree of satisfaction than they are said to have by their sons.

[3] We excluded the cases of boys who said they did not know how satisfied their fathers or mothers were with the former's work. The "don't know" response for fathers and mothers was given by about 15 percent of working-class boys and 3 percent of the middle-class boys.

[4] Thirty-nine and 63 percent for working- and middle-class mothers and 44 and 41 percent for the fathers.

[5] This is done by approximately two-thirds of the fathers who disagree with their sons' ratings of their job satisfaction.

[6] "Very satisfied" with "pretty satisfied," and "pretty dissatisfied" with "very dissatisfied."

Three items remain to be discussed in the assessment of parent-son agreement in reports of parents' attitudes. These are questions asked of both parents--and their sons--as to why they wanted their sons to go to college. As can be seen in Table 8.3, two of the questions yielded high agreement percentages, while one yielded low agreement percentages. We will discuss the latter first.

This question--answered "yes" or "no"--was whether one reason why the parent wanted the boy to go to college was so that people would have a better opinion of him.[1] Although there was a slight difference in the wording of the question in the boys' questionnaire and in the parents' interview,[2] it is unlikely that this accounts for the low agreement percentages. The assumption that it does not is strongly supported by the consistently divergent responses of parents and sons--within both social classes. In all four groups, when parent-son reports differed, there was a marked tendency[3] for sons to say that people having a better opinion of them was a basis for their parents' wanting them to go to college--and for the parents to assert defensively that it was not.

This is an interesting finding, since it can be interpreted as evidence that parents are reluctant to admit to the interviewers that their wanting their sons to go to college was partly motivated by a wish to have them obtain the status rewards of a higher education.[4] This reluctance could reflect their awareness of that component of American ideology which emphasizes equality and the right of all human beings--regardless of their social position--to the good opinion of their fellow men. Given this awareness, parents could feel that they were presenting themselves in a more favorable light when they denied that considerations of status influenced their wanting their children to go to college. This interpretation leads to the conclusion that, for the item under discussion, sons report parents' attitudes more correctly than do the parents themselves.

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[1] The mother-son agreement percentages are 48 for the working class and 54 for the middle class; the percentages for the fathers are 42 and 46.

[2] In the boys' questionnaire the question was whether "mother (father) thinks people will have a better opinion of me if I go to college." In the parents' interview schedule the question was whether "you think people will respect him more--have a better opinion of him--if he goes to college."

[3] It occurred in roughly three-quarters of the cases in which fathers and sons and mothers and sons differed in their reports.

[4] In the total group of parents this is stated as a reason for their wanting their sons to go to college by only 30 percent of the working-class mothers and 37 percent of the middle-class mothers; the corresponding percentages for fathers are 39 and 41.

Two other common reasons which parents might have for wanting their sons to go to college are that a college education makes it possible to get jobs that are higher paying and more interesting. Both of these are undoubtedly widely approved grounds for parents' desiring a college education for their sons. It is conceivable, however, that some fathers and mothers--particularly in the middle class--might have some hesitation in admitting that monetary rewards were a consideration in their wishes for their sons to go to college. If this were so, we would expect to find that in instances in which parents and children differed in reports of parents' attitudes, children would tend to attribute the economic motive to parents who denied being influenced by it.

As can be seen in the last two entries of Table 8.3, there is a high degree of agreement between parents' and sons' answers to the questions of whether mothers and fathers wish them to go to college because of the promise of a higher paying occupation and more interesting work. With one slight exception, the parent-son reports produce an agreement of about 85 percent.[1] Thus, for both items we are considering there was only a small proportion of parent-son pairs which could manifest the systematic difference in reports about which we speculated above. The data do provide some indication of the predicted difference. But, since the difference is slight and involves few cases, it could be due to chance.

Boys' attitudes: boys' and parents' reports

The focus of this section is on the accuracy of what boys say about themselves as judged by the extent to which their fathers and mothers confirm what they say. We compare boys' and parents' answers to three questions: how far the boy would really want to go in school if there were nothing to stop him, whether the boy tries to get good grades in most of his subjects, and the boy's occupational preference.

Before discussing the extent of agreement between boys' and parents' answers to the individual questions, as recorded in Table 8.4, a general observation is in order about the interpretation of the results of these and similar data comparisons. Considerable correspondence between sons' reports of their attitudes and their parents' reports warrants confidence, although with reservations, in the accuracy of the data secured from the boys. Considerable divergence in the reports, however, cannot be assumed to attest to the inaccuracy of the data. This is because the distinct possibility--even on a question such as whether the boy tries for good grades--that a sizeable proportion of parents are not correctly informed about their sons' attitudes. Sons may not reveal their views, and parents could err in inferring them from their actions. Moreover, parents' reports about their sons' attitudes can be influenced by their own attitudes and, in an interview situation, by their conception of what responses reflect more favorably on them or their sons. The latter two sources of difference between parents' and sons' reports could be identified by the systematic character of the discrepancies. However, random parent-son differences could indicate error in parents' reports, in what the boys say about themselves, or in both sources.

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[1] The slight exception is the agreement percentage of 79 for middle-class father-son reports of whether fathers wish their sons to go to college because it leads to more interesting jobs.

How far a student would like to go in school if there was nothing to stop him (his aspiration) is an important datum in many studies. It is often used as a sole measure of pupils' level of educational aspiration,[1] as distinguished from their educational plans or goals.

Our initial comparison of sons' and parents' reports of the former's aspirations--using four possible response categories[2]--shows great discrepancy between their reports. The mother-son agreement percentages are 42 for the working class and 44 for the middle class; the corresponding father-son percentages are 48 and 53. Since the parent-son differences appear to be random, we have no basis for deciding whether the parents or the sons are reporting more correctly.

When aspiration levels are dichotomized--4 or more years of college versus less than 4 years of college--the agreement percentages rise to 73 and 79 for the two groups of mothers and to 74 and 76 for the fathers.[3] Considerable discrepancy thus remains between boys' and parents' reports, but in the absence of any support for the assumption that the boys' data represent their aspirations more accurately, our results argue for the analysis of aspiration data in dichotomous form.

A large amount of disagreement is also found between what boys say about whether they try to get good grades and what their parents say about them. With the five original response categories[4] uncombined, the parent-son percentage agreements for mothers and fathers in both social classes are less than 50. Moreover, there is no evidence that parent-son response differences are systematic in direction. When response categories are dichotomized[5] the parent-son agreement percentages are increased to

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[1] In the present study it is used in conjunction with a series of other questions. See Appendix A for the description of our measure of aspiration.

[2] "More than 4 years college, 4 years, a couple of years, high school or less."

[3] These are the percentages presented in Table 8.4.

[4] "Doesn't try at all, tries a little, tries pretty hard, tries very hard, gets good grades without trying very hard."

[5] "Doesn't try at all" with tries a little," versus "tries pretty hard" and "tries very hard." The category "gets good grades without trying very hard" was omitted.

60 and 68 for working- and middle-class mothers and to 60 and 69 for the two groups of fathers. However, we now observe a pattern in parent-son differences for middle-class mothers and fathers. In those pairs in which parents and sons differ in their reports, parents tend to say their sons don't try or try a little for good grades, whereas their sons are prone to say they try pretty hard or very hard.[1] The pattern of disagreement about how hard the boys work at their studies--and its absence among working-class parent-son pairs--suggests that some middle-class parents have more demanding standards and expectations then their adolescent sons can satisfy. Their sons may not get good grades despite their attempts, but parents may find it more comfortable to assume they didn't work hard enough. If this interpretation is valid, it would support the assumption of a higher degree of accuracy in the reports of middle-class boys than might be inferred from the agreement percentages given in Table 8.4.

The final item examined in the comparison of parents' and sons' attitudes is sons' occupational choice. The boys were asked to indicate if they had made up their minds about the kind of work or occupation they were going to try to be in most of their life.[2] The question addressed to parents was somewhat different. They were asked whether their sons had any idea what kind of work they would like to go into. If they answered affirmatively, they were requested to specify the occupation.[3] Parents responded in terms of some occupational choice by their sons, rather than in terms of their conception of their sons' aspiration or ideal. Despite the variation in the questions we, therefore, believe we are justified in comparing parents' and sons' reports.

The occupations reported by parents and sons were ranked on the Hollingshead seven-point scale.[4] All but a small proportion of the occupations mentioned by boys and their parents fell in the upper four levels; i.e., the white collar segment, of the scale.[5] Comparison of parent-son reports, consequently, are based primarily on occupations within this area of the scale.

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[1] This occurs in two-thirds of the mother-son pairs in which there are discrepancies and in three-fourths of the father-son pairs.

[2] Approximately one-third of both working- and middle-class boys said they hadn't decided and therefore are omitted from the analysis.

[3] Approximately one-third of working- and middle-class parents said their sons had no idea what kind of work they would like. Parent-son pairs in which an occupation was not cited by parent and son are omitted from the analysis.

[4] See Chapter 2.

[5] Only approximately 15 percent of working-class fathers and mothers and their sons cited a blue collar occupation. The corresponding percentages for middle-class parents and sons were roughly 7 and 10.

The agreement percentages prove to be low--particularly for working-class parent-son pairs. They are 55 for mothers and 59 for fathers, as compared with 75 and 71 for middle-class mothers and fathers. From the class difference in parent-son agreement percentages, it might be presumed that a greater proportion of the occupational choices of middle-class boys than of working-class boys are accurately reported. This could signify that the occupational choices of middle-class boys are more definite. They may also be more realistic. That this may be the case is suggested by the finding that parent-son report differences are random for the middle-class group but systematic in the working class. In the latter group, mothers and fathers whose reports differ from their sons' reports tend to indicate that their sons' preference is at a lower level on the occupational scale than it is said to be by the sons themselves.[1]

Discussion of Results

Consideration of the data presented in this chapter has impressed us with the serious problems involved in assessing the accuracy of data collected in survey studies such as ours. The difficulties which arise in interpreting reports by two sets of informants from whom data are collected by different means--the self-administered questionnaire in the classroom and the interview in the home--have already been commented on and require no elaboration here. We would suggest, however, that our findings emphasize the need for much greater concern on the part of investigators collecting either questionnaire or interview data with the quality of their data. Much is written and said about techniques of data analysis, but much too little interest has been shown by sociologists in evaluating the accuracy and validity of their data and in determining how these dimensions of data could be improved.

We do not by any means advance what we have done in this chapter as a model for what we think should be done. But we have raised important questions which have not been raised in the few studies which have attempted to appraise the accuracy of their data.

Two studies can be cited to illustrate our observations. Berdie, for example, collected questionnaire data from 92 percent of all Minnesota boys and girls who at the time of the research were high school seniors.[2] To study the accuracy of the data, however, the reports of only 90 students were compared with those obtained in interviews with 45 mothers and 45 fathers, all of whom were residents of one small town. Because of the very few cases--and the manner in which they were selected--the observed extent of student-parent agreement in this group can hardly be regarded as a measure of the accuracy of the data in the larger study.

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[1] This occurs in roughly two-thirds of the cases in which parents and sons differ in their reports.

[2] Ralph F. Berdie, op. cit.

More recently, the Coleman Report attempted to ". . . obtain some indication of measurement errors in the survey arising from erroneous reporting by the pupils to some of the questions about themselves, their schooling, and their homes and families."[1] The items investigated were all of a factual nature. Some were checked by teachers against school records and others with information obtained through teachers' interviews with parents.

This assessment of the reliability of the data was based on a questionnaire[2] administered by classroom teachers to 700 students in two school districts in Tennessee. There were approximately the same number of boys and girls, roughly the same proportion of whom were in the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades. The results of the reliability study are reported separately for each of the four grades.

The Coleman Report states that from the results, "It may be concluded, bearing in mind the limitations of this study that were described above, that pupils responded to the questionnaire used for this survey with reasonable accuracy to factual items. . . ."[3] Unfortunately, despite the considerable size of the reliability study group, it is impossible to judge whether this conclusion is warranted due to the very limited description of the reliability investigation. Information is lacking on the socio-economic status of the pupils in the study, on what basis their particular classes were selected by the superintendents of the two school districts, and on how the questionnaire was administered. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the selection of the pupils, the attitude of the teachers, the motivation of the pupils, and the context in which the questionnaire was filled out yielded more accurate responses than were obtained from participants in the national survey.

The findings from our interviews with 277 parents indicate that reports of parents and their high school sons correspond most closely on factual items that concern family matters. There is enough agreement to let us assume that findings about such matters would be generally valid even in a relatively small sample of students.

This assumption is less likely to be valid for students' reports of their parents' education and occupation. (Here parents' information is probably more correct.) When these reports are in terms of multiple categories, the agreement percentages are too low to allow such data to be used with confidence--even in large samples--unless the variables are dichotomized. This of course also applies to the ranking of family social class derived from boys' reports (of fathers' education and occupation). The safest procedure here would be to categorize families as either working class or middle class.

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[1] Coleman, op. cit., pp. 568-570.

[2] This was a revision of the questionnaire used in the national survey and included only items which could be verified by school records or by parents.

[3] What constitutes "reasonable accuracy" is a moot point. (How much of what kinds of error is acceptable for what purposes?)

There is also an extremely low degree of consensus between parents' and sons' reports of parents' attitudes. And when we considered parent-son agreement in reports of boys attitudes, we again found considerable discrepancy--even when responses were dichotomized.

Finally, the reader should note that the validity of parents' responses to attitudinal matters is somewhat indeterminate: several items suggest an interviewer effect.

TABLE 8.1

PERCENTAGES OF 277* BOYS AND PARENTS GIVING SIMILAR RESPONSES TO SEVEN FACTUAL QUESTIONS WITH FAMILIES GROUPED BY SOCIAL CLASS

Item	Mothers		Fathers	
	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)
Number of children	85	91	85	90
Own or rent home	94	98	92	98
Boy has own room	88	93	85	93
Number of daily newspapers	73	83		
Encyclopedia in home	91	92		
Number of books in home	31	50		
Whether mother works	73	84		

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* On some of the items information was not obtained from a few of the boys or the parents, making the total a little short of 277.

TABLE 8.2

PERCENTAGES OF 277 BOYS AND PARENTS GIVING SIMILAR REPORTS OF MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Item	Mothers		Fathers
	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)	Total Group (%)
Mother's Education*	70	76	
Mother's Occupation**	58	65	
Father's Education*			60
Father's Occupation			65
Social Class			70

[*] The number of cases of mother-boy reports of mothers' education falls short of the total of 277 because 11 working-class boys and eight from the middle class said they did not know how much education their mothers had. The "don't know" response for fathers' education was obtained from 21 boys. In 18 of these cases, fathers reported their education as high school graduation or less.

[**] The comparison of mothers' and boys' reports is based on cases of working mothers in which both mother and boy reported an occupation: there were 74 in the working class and 34 in the middle class.

TABLE 8.3

PERCENTAGES OF 277[1] BOYS AND PARENTS GIVING SIMILAR RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT PARENTS' ATTITUDES

Item	Mothers		Fathers	
	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)
How far parent wants boy to go in school[2]	78	92	74	89
How far parent thinks boy could go in school[3]	80	84	75	93
How far parent expects boy to go in school[4]	65	72	74	76
Whether parent gets after boy to do well in school work[5]	61	54	48	56
How satisfied parent is with income from father's work[6]	81	81	69	77
How satisfied parent is with kind of work father does[6]	77	90	69	72
Whether parent thinks people will respect boy more if he goes to college	48	54	42	46
Whether parent thinks boy can get higher paying job if he goes to college	85	85	87	84
Whether parents think boy will get more interesting job if he goes to college	85	85	85	79

[1] The totals for most of the items fall a few cases short of 277. This is usually because of no response or a "don't know" response from the boys. In a few cases this also applies to the parents.

[2] The agreement percentages are for responses dichotomized as 4 or more years of college and less than 4 years of college.

[3] The agreement percentages are dichotomized as 4 or more years of college and less than 4 years of college.

[4] The agreement percentages are for responses dichotomized as 4 years of college and less than 4 years of college.

[5] The agreement percentages are for responses when dichotomized: "let him do what he wants about it" combined with "get after him but not hard," and "get after him quite a bit" combined with "get after him a lot."

[6] The agreement percentages are for responses when dichotomized: "very satisfied" combined with "pretty satisfied," and "pretty dissatisfied" combined with "very dissatisfied."

TABLE 8.4

PERCENTAGES OF 277 BOYS AND PARENTS GIVING SIMILAR RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT BOYS' ATTITUDES

Item	Mothers		Fathers	
	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)
How far boy would like to go in school[1]	73	79	74	76
How hard boy tries to get good grades[2]	60	68	60	69
Boys' occupational preference[3]	55	75	59	71

[1] The agreement percentages are for responses when dichotomized as 4 or more years of college and less than 4 years of college.

[2] The agreement percentages are for responses when dichotomized: "doesn't try at all" combined with "tries a little," and "tries pretty hard" combined with "tries very hard."

[3] The numbers of cases involved in the comparison of boys' and parents' reports on this item was 76 and 63 for working- and middle-class mothers, and 71 and 62 for working- and middle-class fathers. This was well below the total number in each of the four groups because of boys who reported they had not made an occupational choice and parents who responded their sons had not any idea of what kind of work they would like to do.

CHAPTER 9

PARENTS' ORIENTATION TO THEIR SONS' EDUCATION: SOME SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS INVESTIGATED WITH PARENT INTERVIEW DATA

This chapter discusses our findings on four questions we asked parents about their orientation to their sons' education.

> 1. How concerned are they with the quality of the schools their children will attend when choosing their place of residence?
>
> 2. How much influence on their sons' attitude to education do they impute to their school?
>
> 3. How much agreement is there between school counselors and parents in the evaluation of students' academic ability and educational prospects?
>
> 4. How aware are parents of facts which could influence their judgment of the feasibility of their sons' pursuing their education beyond high school?

The significance of these questions is discussed below as the data relating to them are presented.

Quality of Schools and Parents' Choice of Residence

Neighborhoods can make a large difference in the quality of schools[1] which boys attend. Presumably most parents are aware of this. To the extent that they have any choice, it might be anticipated that parents would take account of the quality of the schools before moving into any particular neighborhood.

Since middle-class parents can be assumed (because of their greater income) to have more choice than working-class parents about where to live, we might expect the former to be more influenced by school quality in deciding where to live. It also might be hypothesized that working-class parents whose sons are attending schools with mostly middle-class students[2] were influenced by this aspect of the neighborhood in choosing their place of residence. Support for this view is important for the study of school effect, since it would indicate that working-class children in middle-class schools might be a select group.[3] If these children differed on any measure of school effect from working-class children in a working-class school, the difference might then be imputed to the influence of their families rather than their school's. Data collected in the interviews make it possible to test these two assumptions.

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[1] This is true insofar as the quality of schools is determined by the class composition of their student bodies, the competence and motivation of teachers, physical facilities, etc.

[2] Presumably these would be thought of by parents as the better schools.

[3] See Chapter 3.

Investigation began with the open-ended question, "How do you happen to be living in this neighborhood?"[1] Very much contrary to our expectation, only 10 of the 277 fathers and 15 of the 277 mothers referred immediately to the caliber of the schools as a consideration. Moreover, in answering the following question about whether they had additional reasons for moving to the neighborhood, only 9 more fathers and 15 mothers referred to the character of the schools.[2] This finding is at variance with the common assumption that middle-class parents are relatively more concerned than working-class parents with the quality of schools their children attend.

Subsequent questions yield further evidence on this point. Parents were asked whether "before moving to this neighborhood" they "had heard anything about the schools in the neighborhood."[3] Those who answered affirmatively were then asked, "Had you heard they were good or bad?" The answers of mothers and fathers to these questions are shown in Table 9.1, with parents grouped by family class position and by whether their sons were in a working-class or middle-class high school.[4]

The data of Table 9.1 are especially interesting for what they reveal about the middle-class parents. Although faced by a person associated with a major educational institution (who well might have stimulated them to give the socially approved response[1]), about half the middle-class fathers[2] and mothers reported, in effect, they had made no inquiries about the schools where they had decided to make their home. These results, and those for the preceding question, suggest either that middle-class parents are not as greatly concerned as is generally thought with the schools their children attend, or that, given the type of neighborhoods in which they typically live, they take the quality of the schools for granted.

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[1] The preceding question showed the families to be a stable residential group: two-thirds had been living in their present homes for 6 years or longer, about one-fifth for 2 to 5 years, and the remainder for less than 2 years.

[2] Two-thirds of the 19 fathers who mentioned the quality of schools as a reason for living where they did--in response to the first or second question--were middle class. (There was no class difference between the mothers.)

[3] This, of course, was an indirect way of ascertaining whether they had made any inquiries about the schools before moving to the neighborhood.

[4] In this and subsequent analyses we have combined lower working- and upper working-class families for the category "working class family," and lower middle-, upper middle-, and upper-class families for the category "middle-class family." The great majority of the "working-class family" category are upper working class (85 percent); the "middle-class family" category consists of 7 percent who are upper class, 53 percent who are upper middle class, and 40 percent who are lower middle class. "Working class" schools are schools (designated as low-status schools in Chapter 3) in which more than half the students come from working-class families; the "middle class" schools (designated intermediate- and high-status schools) are those in which the majority are from middle-class families.

The assumption that their children's schools are less important to working-class parents than to middle-class parents is supported by the finding that a larger proportion of the former said they had not heard anything about the schools in their neighborhood before moving to it. More significant, however, is that working-class mothers and fathers whose sons were attending a middle-class school were more likely to say this than were those whose sons were in a working-class school. This finding challenges the assumption that working-class boys in middle-class schools are a select group.

Finally, in Table 9.1 virtually all parents who reported having heard something about the schools where they live stated they had heard they were "good." This unanimous response shows parents' acute awareness of the norm in our society that they should be concerned about the quality of their children's schools. This norm would make it hard for parents to admit to an interviewer that they chose to live in a district in which the schools were reputed to be "bad."

School Influence as Perceived by Parents

In Chapter 2 we examined a number of variables which could have shown that parents' orientation to their sons' education had been influenced by their type of school. But there was little evidence to support this assumption. Here we consider fathers' and mothers' own reports on a number of questions which could reveal this influence. The specific questions were whether (a) their sons had been made more interested or less interested in school by any of the boys at their school, (b) any of their teachers had made them more interested, and (c) a school counselor had done so. Quite apart from whether parents thought schools had influenced their boys' orientation to education the questions could provide parents an opportunity to express positive or negative feelings about the schools. Consequently, if parents regarded middle-class schools more favorably than working-class schools, it could be predicted that they would tend to impute a more beneficent effect to the former schools than parents of boys in working-class schools. This could follow either from a generalized favorable attitude to their sons' school or from the working- and middle-class schools actually being seen by parents as differing specifically in their effect on their sons' interest in school. The data of Tables 9.2 through 9.5[1] provide no evidence supporting either of these assumptions.

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[1] I.e., that they had some concern with the quality of the schools which their children would be attending.

[2] Fifty-eight percent of the fathers of boys in the working-class school.

Table 9.2 presents parents' responses about whether any boys at school had made their sons more interested in school. If anything, the data suggest that working-class mothers whose sons attend working-class schools are more likely to see these schools as having the favorable effect than mothers whose sons are in middle-class schools. For middle-class mothers, too, the data are also inconsistent with the hypothesis. (Their reports do not vary with the type of school their sons are attending.) Fathers' responses, similarly, do not show the predicted school difference. The responses of working-class fathers whose sons are in working- and middle-class schools are almost identical. And middle-class fathers with sons in working-class schools differ from those whose sons are in middle-class schools only by being slightly more likely (by 11 percent) to say they don't know whether any boys made their sons more interested in school, and less likely (by 11 percent) to say that no boys had this effect.

Table 9.3 shows whether parents think any boys made their sons less interested in school. Again, the data do not support the assumption that middle-class schools would evoke more favorable reports. The responses of working-class mothers are unrelated to the type of schools their sons are attending. And working-class fathers with sons in middle-class schools are more likely (by 18 percent) than those whose sons attend working-class schools to say that one or more of their son's peers has made them less interested in school. Middle-class mothers with sons in the middle-class schools are also more likely (by 9 percent) to report the negative influence. Middle-class fathers, however, report more favorably if their sons are in middle-class schools. But a larger proportion of these fathers (by 14 percent), than of those with sons in working-class schools, state that there were no boys in their sons' schools who made them less interested in school.

The interview items about the influence of boys' peers were followed by the question, "What about his teachers? Are there any that you think made him more interested in school?" Mothers' and fathers' responses to this question are given in Table 9.4. They too lend no support to the hypothesis being considered. (The one relatively large school difference which appears in the reports of middle-class fathers runs counter to the hypothesis.)

Finally, parents were asked whether any counselor had aroused their son's interest in school. Their answers are shown in Table 9.5. Here, for the first time, we see a slight indication of fathers and mothers imputing a more favorable effect to the middle-class schools: a larger proportion of parents with sons in these schools than in working-class schools say that a counselor increased their son's interest in school. This is true of middle-class mothers and fathers; it also holds for working-class mothers but not for working-class fathers. The school differences found for the three groups of parents are, however, small. (The largest difference is 10 percent.)

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[1] In these tables mothers and fathers are grouped by family class position and social-class composition of their sons' schools.

Except for parents' reports about their sons' counselors, the evidence advanced so far casts doubt on the assumption that parents, whether working- or middle class, view the middle-class school as exercising a more favorable effect on their son's orientation to education. A different test of the assumption, however, yields some positive but weak evidence. The evidence is the response from parents to the question, "If your son could change to another high school in this district, would you or wouldn't you want him to do it?"

Parents' answers, as shown in Table 9.6, reveal no widespread dissatisfaction by parents whose sons attend working-class schools. Roughly 80 percent of working- and middle-class parents in these schools would not want them to transfer to another school.[1] But the few parents in both classes who would prefer to have their sons change schools are more likely to be those whose sons go to working-class schools. (The difference, although reliable, is only about 8 percent.) Because this finding applies only to a small proportion of parents, and in view of the lack of strong and consistent findings in the other data, we can conclude that the parents interviewed in our study do not tend to evaluate middle-class schools more favorably than working-class schools.

Counselors' and Parents' Estimates of Boys' Academic Ability and Final Level of Educational Attainment

A high degree of agreement between the estimates of parents and counselors could stem from both parties using grades as the sole basis of their appraisals. Or it could be the product of considerable communication between parents and the schools.[2] In either case, consensus between parents and school personnel would raise the chances that they were not at cross-purposes in whatever influence they were attempting to exert on the students. But parents and school differing sharply in their judgments could create a confusing and difficult situation for students who were aware of the conflicting evaluations of their ability.[1]

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[1] Some parents may have said they would not want their sons to transfer to another school because they believed the disruption involved in making the change would not be worth the gain achieved.

[2] Our evidence indicates relatively little communication. Parents were asked whether they and sons' teachers or counselor have the same idea about how far their sons can go in school. The percentages of parents who said they didn't know what the teachers or counselors think were as follows: working-class mothers (57 percent for those in working-class schools, 48 percent for those in middle-class schools); the parallel percentages for working-class fathers are 66 and 59, respectively; middle-class mothers (60 in working-class and 48 in middle-class schools), middle-class fathers (55 in working-class schools and 54 in middle-class schools). These percentages suggest that both working- and middle-class mothers tend to have somewhat more contact with school personnel if their sons are attending a middle-class school.

The data on the evaluation of students by school personnel consist of counselors' (a) ratings of students' ability in terms of how far they could go in school if they tried their best, and (b) predictions of their ultimate level of educational attainment. Roughly comparable data were secured from the parents. Counselors can base their ratings and predictions not only on students' grades (which is probably the only information parents have), but also their IQ and achievement test scores, reports from teachers, and their own impressions of the students' interest in school and motivation for education beyond high school.

Counselor and Parent Ratings of Boys' Ability

Table 9.7 shows how parents rated their sons' academic ability[2] as compared with how they were rated by the counselors. Divergence between the two sets of ratings is enormous. Some 50 percent more working-class parents than counselors say they think their sons are capable of completing 4 or more years of college. And whereas only 3 percent of working-class parents think their sons' ability is limited to finishing high school, counselors give this rating to 26 percent of the boys. A wide gap between parents' and counselors' evaluations is also found for middle-class families. About 36 percent more parents than counselors think their sons could finish 4 or more years of college, and only 1 percent of the parents, as compared with 17 percent of the counselors think their sons could go no further than high school. Even allowing for the possibility that parents' responses were subject to some interviewer effect (which might have led them to raise their evaluation of their sons' academic ability),[3] this could hardly account for the size of the discrepancy between their estimates and those of the counselors. Additional factors undoubtedly contributing to this discrepancy are (a) parents' lacking firm evidence of their sons' academic ability[4] (due to inadequate communication with school personnel), and (b) parents' ego involvement (the prestige attached to academic ability in our society makes it hard for parents to accept their sons falling somewhat short in this respect.)[1]

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[1] Except for students who rejected the evaluations of their parents or of teachers and counselors, or both.

[2] Only 14 percent of working-class and 10 percent of middle-class mothers said they were "not sure" of their estimates. The parallel percentages for fathers are 9 and 5. All other parents said they were "very sure" or "pretty sure." Counselors were not asked how certain they were of their estimates.

[3] See Chapter 8.

[4] They, of course, have school grades as a basis for judging their sons' ability but they may not be able to interpret them correctly, and if the grades are low, they can discount them as due to lack of effort.

Counselor and Parent Expectations of Boys' Educational Attainment

Although counselors' and parents' reports of how far they expect the students to go in school are undoubtedly based to a considerable extent on their estimates of students' academic ability, they may also reflect judgments of how much education students want (i.e., their motivation) and how much they can afford (economic feasibility of college). This leads one to anticipate that counselors and parents would expect boys to obtain less education than their judgments of ability warrant.

This expectation is borne out by comparing Tables 9.7 and 9.8 (showing how far counselors and parents expect students to go in school.) The difference between estimates of ability and predictions of educational attainment for counselors is smaller, however, than that observed for the four groups of parents.[2] And it is somewhat larger for working-class parents than for middle-class parents.[3] For example, 89 percent of the working-class fathers think their sons have the ability to complete 4 or more years of college, but only 58 percent expect them to attain this level of education. The parallel difference for middle-class fathers is 11 percent smaller.

The most striking aspect of Table 9.8 is the large divergence between the proportions of counselors and parents predicting 4 or more years of college for the students. The difference (in favor of the parents) is approximately 37 percent for the working-class boys and 30 percent for those from middle-class families. Given the very high percentages of parents expecting their sons to complete college, it is very likely that the counselors' predictions will prove to be much closer to the mark.

An important implication of the gap between counselors' and parents' evaluations of students is suggested in a recent article on "The Educational

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[1] It is more acceptable to parents to think that, if their sons don't become college graduates, it is because they couldn't afford the cost or were not interested in doing so.

[2] This could signify that counselors tend to give greater weight than parents to academic ability in predicting students' level of attainment.

[3] The probable explanation for this is that the economic feasibility of a college education for their sons tends to be more problematic for working-class parents than for middle-class parents. Therefore, a somewhat smaller proportion of the working-class parents expect their sons to finish 4 or more years of college.

Climates of High Schools."[1] The authors cite Benjamin S. Bloom's[2] generalization that mutually reinforcing school and home environments are likely to promote greater academic growth of students than environments lacking such consistency. The authors observe: "It would seem that 'community schools' and similar organizational innovations in public institutions could perhaps be one mechanism for obtaining support of parents which in turn could provide data for both parents and school officials to achieve consistency between the two environments."[3]

Parents' Knowledge of Facts Which Could Influence Their Judgment of the Feasibility of Their Sons' Attending Junior College or University

Some working-class parents may rule out junior college or more education for their children in part because they are uninformed about admission requirements, tuition costs, or various means by which needy students can finance the additional years of school. The assumption that working-class parents are less likely than middle-class parents to be aware of these matters is plausible for several reasons. Far fewer working-class mothers and fathers have their own educational background as a basis for this knowledge. Their children are probably less disposed than middle-class children to familiarize themselves with such facts and to convey them to their parents. Lastly, because working-class parents presumably feel less comfortable in meeting with teachers or counselors, they may be less likely to seek this information directly.

A number of questions were included in the interviews with fathers and mothers to test the supposition that working-class parents are less informed than middle-class parents about facts which could influence their judgment of the feasibility of their sons continuing their education beyond high school. The questions and the responses to them are discussed below.

Grade Requirements for Junior College and University

Parents were first asked, "Do you have any idea what grades a student needs to get into a junior college?"[4] Would you say he needs an A average, a B average, a C average, any average as long as he has a high school diploma, or don't you really know?" The same question was then asked regarding the state university and the major private university in the area.

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[1] Edward L. McDill, Leo C. Rigsby, and Edmund D. Meyers, Jr., American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 74, May, 1969.

[2] "Stability and Change in Human Characteristics: Implications for School Reorganization," Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. 2, Winter, 1966, pp. 35-49.

[3] Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

[4] This was followed by giving as an example the name of the junior college in the district in which the family lived.

Responses of fathers and mothers to the three questions are shown in Tables 9.9 through 9.11.

The data reveal that most parents are roughly aware of differences in admission requirements between the institutions. For example, none of the mothers or fathers stated that a high school diploma, regardless of grade average, would suffice for entrance to the state or private university. And, correctly, almost none of the parents thought that a C average would gain a student admission to the private university; very few believed it would be adequate for the state university.

The data of Tables 9.9 through 9.11 show that working-class parents are more likely to report they did not know the grades required for admission to junior college or either of the two universities about which they were questioned. The largest social-class difference between parents concerns the admission requirements for junior college. Almost half the middle-class parents--as compared with a quarter of the working-class fathers and mothers--knew that a high school diploma assured a student entrance to junior college.

Tuition Costs of Junior College and University

The questions about grade requirements for junior college and university were followed by others intended to determine parents' estimates of the cost of college. They were first asked "Do you have any idea how much a student has to pay to go to a junior college?" How much do you think it costs for everything except room and board?" The same question was then asked about the state and private university in the area. We assume that the cost estimates made by parents were based primarily on their conception of tuition costs. Their replies, with parents grouped by social class, are shown in Tables 9.12 through 9.14.

The tables reveal that, as with grade requirements, working-class parents tend to be less informed about the cost of all categories of education beyond high school than their middle-class counterparts. Moreover, in the case of each of the three educational institutions, a larger proportion of the estimates of middle-class parents than of working-class parents approximated the actual tuition costs.[1]

Parents' Knowledge of Sources of Financial Aid for College Attendance

Quite apart from whether they are informed about the cost of tuition at various educational institutions, parents' judgment of the economic feasibility of a college education for their children could be influenced by their knowledge of extra-familial sources of financial aid. Undoubtedly, most persons know that students can help defray the cost of their education by part-time jobs or by negotiating private loans.[1] But it is questionable whether parents--and particularly working-class parents--are fully aware of the assistance available from governmental agencies and educational institutions. Both are potential sources of low-interest loans with long-term repayment plans. (These impose virtually no financial burden on students' families.) And, at least for more able students, colleges and universities offer tuition scholarships and more extended aid.

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[1] A large percentage of parents gave an excessively high (over $1000) estimate for the cost of attending the state university. This was the estimate of 25 percent of the working-class fathers and mothers. It was also the estimate given by 28 percent of the middle-class mothers and 16 percent of the fathers.

To ascertain parents' knowledge of the various ways of financing a college education, mothers and fathers were asked, "If a person doesn't have the money to go to college, would you say that means he can't go?" Those who said "No, it doesn't," were then asked, "How can he do it if he doesn't have the money?"

Responses to the two questions, as shown in Table 9.15 reveal that only a very small proportion of fathers and mothers perceive no source of assistance for students who lack the money for college. This was reported by only 5 percent of the working-class parents and by none of the middle-class group. A smaller percentage of working-class mothers (by 14 percent) and fathers (by 23 percent) mentioned scholarships or loans from educational instituions and loans from government agencies. This finding implies that working-class parents who were as informed about private loans and part-time jobs for students as middle-class parents, tend to know less about scholarships and deferred-payment loans than middle-class parents. And yet, this information is likely to be more critical for working-class parents.

Summary

This chapter has presented findings--based largely on interviews with parents--about parents' orientation to their sons' education.

Perhaps most interesting is the evidence showing that, before moving to their neighborhood, few parents--middle class or working class--seriously made it their business to find out about the quality of schools their children would be attending. A significant finding here is that working-class parents having children in middle-class schools apparently did not intentionally move to neighborhoods which would make this possible.

In Chapter 3, we considered a great deal of data from the boys' questionnaires bearing on the question of whether schools supposedly varying in quality have a differential effect on students' attitudes to school. In the present chapter, we examined data on this question collected in the interviews with parents. The parents' material provides little evidence that more favorable effects on students' attitudes to education can be attributed to the type of school they attend.

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[1] Private loans are, of course, more difficult for working-class persons to arrange.

Another important finding is the extremely large difference between parents and school counselors in the evaluation of their sons' academic ability and prospects. This indicates a need for much greater communication and understanding between parents and school personnel, so that coordinated and consistent influence on the students may be maintained.

Finally, we find that working-class parents appear to be somewhat less informed than middle-class parents about admission and cost requirements and sources of financial aid for the college education of their sons. Such information clearly can influence parents' judgment of the feasibility of their sons' obtaining more than a high school education--and thereby affect the educational goals they set for them. Schools should make more of an effort than they now do to convey such information to working-class parents.

TABLE 9.1

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' REPORTS OF WHAT THEY HAD HEARD ABOUT THE SCHOOLS BEFORE MOVING TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION AND SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF HIGH SCHOOLS BEING ATTENDED BY THEIR SONS

	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
What Parents Heard About Schools	Working Class Schools	Middle Class Schools	Working Class Schools	Middle Class Schools
	%	%	%	%
Mothers				
Nothing	57	73	48	49
They were good	36	25	45	47
They were bad	4	--	--	1
Other*	3	2	5	3
No. of mothers	70	85	40	81
Fathers				
Nothing	67	78	58	49
They were good	26	22	40	46
They were bad	7	--	2	1
Other*	--	--	--	3
No. of fathers	69	86	40	81

*These were responses which could not be placed in either the "good" or "bad" category.

TABLE 9.2

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' REPORTS OF HOW MANY BOYS AT THEIR SONS' HIGH SCHOOL MADE THEM MORE INTERESTED IN SCHOOL, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION AND CLASS COMPOSITION OF SONS' SCHOOL

Number of Boys Made Son More Interested	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Working Class School	Middle Class School	Working Class School	Middle Class School
Mothers' Reports	%	%	%	%
Don't know	10	11	5	7
None	57	69	65	67
One or two	16	7	10	9
Three or more	17	13	20	17
No. of mothers	70	85	40	81
Fathers' Reports				
Don't know	26	21	23	12
None	46	47	45	56
One or two	10	16	15	11
Three or more	19	17	18	21
No. of fathers	70	83	40	81

TABLE 9.3

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' REPORTS OF HOW MANY BOYS AT THEIR SONS' HIGH SCHOOL MADE THEM LESS INTERESTED IN SCHOOL, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION AND CLASS COMPOSITION OF SONS' SCHOOL

Number of Boys Made Son Less Interested	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Working Class School	Middle Class School	Working Class School	Middle Class School
Mothers' Reports	%	%	%	%
Don't know	6	5	5	3
None	83	81	83	75
One or two	6	7	3	11
Three or more	6	7	10	11
No. of mothers	70	84	40	80
Fathers' Reports				
Don't know	16	8	15	6
None	77	65	65	79
One or two	1	15	13	6
Three or more	6	10	7	9
No. of fathers	70	84	40	81

TABLE 9.4

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' REPORTS OF HOW MANY TEACHERS MADE THEIR SONS MORE INTERESTED IN SCHOOL, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION AND SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF SONS' HIGH SCHOOL

	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
Number of Teachers Made Son More Interested	Working Class School	Middle Class School	Working Class School	Middle Class School
Mothers' Reports	%	%	%	%
Don't know	19	12	5	6
None	26	31	35	26
One or two	31	30	38	38
Three or more	24	27	22	31
No. of mothers	70	86	40	81
Fathers' Reports				
Don't know	29	26	25	16
None	14	15	7	28
One or two	27	36	40	22
Three or more	30	23	28	33
No. of fathers	70	86	40	81

TABLE 9.5

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' REPORTS OF WHETHER ANY COUNSELOR MADE THEIR SONS MORE INTERESTED IN SCHOOL, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION AND SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF SONS' HIGH SCHOOL

	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
Whether Counselor Made Boy More Interested	Working Class School	Middle Class School	Working Class School	Middle Class School
Mothers' Reports	%	%	%	%
Don't know	29	17	3	14
No	36	37	63	47
Yes	36	45	35	40
No. of mothers	70	86	40	81
Fathers' Reports				
Don't know	40	40	38	22
No	27	26	40	44
Yes	33	35	23	33
No. of fathers	70	86	40	81

TABLE 9.6

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' REPORTS OF WHETHER THEY WOULD WANT THEIR SONS TO CHANGE TO ANOTHER SCHOOL, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION AND SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF SCHOOLS BEING ATTENDED BY THEIR SONS

	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
Would Parent Want Change Of School	Working Class School	Middle Class School	Working Class School	Middle Class School
Mothers	%	%	%	%
No	84	93	83	88
Yes	13	5	15	6
Indifferent	3	2	2	6
No. of mothers	70	83	40	81
Fathers				
No	77	89	80	88
Yes	14	6	13	5
Indifferent	9	5	7	7
No. of fathers	70	83	40	81

TABLE 9.7

COUNSELORS' AND PARENTS' ESTIMATES OF BOYS' ACADEMIC ABILITY, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

Ability Level	Working Class Family			Working Class Family		
	Counselors	Mothers	Fathers	Counselors	Mothers	Fathers
	%	%	%	%	%	%
High School or less	26	3	3	17	-	1
Junior College	36	7	7	27	8	5
Four or more yrs. college-	38	89	89	56	92	94
No.	149	149	150	118	118	118

TABLE 9.8

COUNSELORS' AND PARENTS' EXPECTATION OF HOW FAR BOYS WILL GO IN SCHOOL, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

How Far Will Go	Working Class Family			Working Class Family		
	Counselors	Mothers	Fathers	Counselors	Mothers	Fathers
	%	%	%	%	%	%
High School or less	34	16	13	16	9	8
Junior College	41	23	29	42	18	19
Four or more yrs. college-	24	61	58	43	73	74
No.	148	148	150	117	117	117

TABLE 9.9

GRADE PARENTS THINK IS REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION TO JUNIOR COLLEGE, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

What Parent Thinks Is Required	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
Don't know	15	20	8	3
A or B average	17	21	10	9
C average	41	36	41	40
Diploma	26	23	42	48
No.	153	156	120	121

TABLE 9.10

GRADE PARENTS THINK IS REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION TO STATE UNIVERSITY, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

What Parent Thinks Is Required	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
Don't know	14	16	6	5
A average	10	11	6	5
B average	69	63	88	82
C average	6	10	-	8
No.	154	156	120	121

TABLE 9.11

GRADES PARENTS THINK ARE REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION TO PRIVATE UNIVERSITY, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

What Parent Thinks is Required	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
Don't know	13	12	6	5
A average	41	35	50	33
B average	45	52	45	48
C average	-	1	-	4
No.	152	154	120	120

TABLE 9.12

PARENTS' ESTIMATES OF COST OF ATTENDING JUNIOR COLLEGE WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

Parents' Estimate	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
Don't know	25	29	16	12
Up to $500*	67	50	76	81
$500 or more	8	21	8	7
No.	153	156	120	121

* The more correct category.

TABLE 9.13

PARENTS' ESTIMATES OF COST OF ATTENDING STATE UNIVERSITY, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

Parents' Estimate	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
Don't know	42	25	23	11
Up to $500*	14	33	30	47
$500 to $1000	17	18	20	26
Over $1000	26	24	28	16
No.	154	156	120	121

* The more correct category.

TABLE 9.14

PARENTS' ESTIMATES OF COST OF ATTENDING PRIVATE UNIVERSITY, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

Parents' Estimate	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
Don't know	34	26	21	12
Under $1000	8	9	4	4
$1000 to $1500	19	27	17	14
Over $1500*	39	38	58	70
No.	152	154	120	121

* The more correct category.

TABLE 9.15

PARENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF SOURCES OF EXTRA-FAMILIAL FINANCIAL AID FOR COLLEGE, WITH PARENTS GROUPED BY FAMILY CLASS POSITION

Sources of Aid	Working Class Family		Middle Class Family	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	%	%	%	%
None[1]	6	4	-	-
Work or private loan[2]	27	31	18	12
College or government loan[3]	67	65	81	88
No.	153	152	120	121

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[1] This category consists of parents who said that if a person doesn't have the money to go to college this means he can't go.

[2] This category includes parents who referred only to part-time jobs or private loans.

[3] This category includes parents who mentioned the possibility of scholarships or loans from educational institutions as well as part-time jobs or private loans.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter reviews the purposes of our investigation, and some of its main findings. We then consider problems in our research and their implications for further research. Finally, we briefly discuss some implications of our work for school policy.

Objectives of the Study

Our first aim was to explain why some high school boys are strongly committed to a college education and others are not. The problem was approached on two levels, both of which received equal emphasis. Theoretically, we wanted to develop a general model or framework that would help explain, with a few additional assumptions, a wide variety of relationships between specific empirical variables. We wanted this model to improve our understanding of both the actual phenomenon and some conflicting data emerging from the study of boys' educational plans. These aims led to the formulation of propositions about the relations between boys' educational aspirations, their perceptions of the feasibility of obtaining a college education, and the level at which they set their educational goals. These propositions are sketched in Chapter 5 and at the end of Chapter 1.

We also wanted to consider and clarify some important substantive issues involved in the shaping of boys' educational goals. Most important, we sought to determine if the social-class composition of schools--or related conditions--could change the level of educational goals boys had developed in response to family influence.

Our final major concern was methodological. This involved assessing the accuracy of data on goal determinants that is provided by boys' reports. (In this study, as well as most others, these reports constitute the main source of data, and often are the sole source.) For this important purpose, boys' reports on selected items were compared with those obtained in interviews with their parents. The interviews with parents also provided data for the study of some substantive questions about parents' concern with sons education.

Main Findings

Our findings on the relative influence of school and family attest to the power of the family in the shaping of young people's educational goals: in the end, we found little consistent association between the social-class composition of their schools and boys' goals. This finding is not in accord with other studies. (Chapter 3 considers some reasons why our finding may differ from that of other studies.) In any case, the results of our research challenge the assumption that the social-class composition of high schools can change the educational goals of students.

With school effect more or less eliminated, we proceded to investigate a series of specific variables as determinants of goals, viewing these variables from the perspective of our model of goal setting. With family social class controlled, this analysis developed a number of interesting findings, testifying to the usefulness of our formulation.

Our next task was to investigate conditions associated with concordance of boys' aspirations and goals. We were particularly concerned with testing the assumption that, given high aspirations, boys are more likely to set high goals when they perceive their aspirations to be realistic. A number of our findings supported this assumption. But the data also showed that high aspirations intensely held can override a low perceived feasibility of realizing them.

Family influence on boys' educational goals is an established fact. Within limits, most parents succeed in shaping their children in their own image. This may not be deliberate, and may even occur despite parents' wishes. But this similarity of parents and children is not inevitable: parents may set high educational goals for their sons, but the sons' educational aspirations may be low. We hypothesized that the more positive the quality of the parent-son relationship, the greater the likelihood of concordance between parents' goals and their sons' aspirations. This hypothesis was tested with family social class controlled and, in the main, was supported.

We, therefore, considered it important to investigate the determinants of parents' goals. This led us to differentiate sharply between parents' aspirations and goals: it is the latter with which children are confronted. This distinction pointed us to the conclusion (a) that parents of all social classes are likely to have high educational aspirations for their sons, and (b) that the positive correlation between parents' goals and their social-class position can be attributed to class differences in their perception of the feasibility of fulfilling their high aspirations. Two major findings emerged here. First, holding constant social class, the more optimistic parents are about their sons' chances of obtaining a college education, the more likely they will be to set high goals. Second, we found that job dissatisfaction in the lower social classes disposed parents to set high goals for their sons despite low perceptions of feasibility.

The outcome of the methodological study (the comparison of boys' and parents' reports) was mixed: considerable agreement in their reports of factual items regarding home and family, but considerable divergence in (a) reports of parents' education and occupation, and (b) reports of attitudes of parents and attitudes of their sons. These findings underscore the need for further empirical study of the accuracy of data used in studies such as ours.

Finally, the parent interview data were used to explore some substantive problems. Two findings of particular interest are (a) that before moving to where they now live few parents apparently--whether middle- or working-class--considered the quality of the school system in the area, and (b) that there is a very large discrepancy between parents' estimates of their sons' academic ability and the estimates of the school counselors.

Limitations of the Study

The reader should note some restrictions on the scope of our findings. Most important, perhaps, is that the eight schools of the study were all located in relatively small towns. Another consideration is that, at the outset, the study excluded the tenth-grade boys who were already "drop-outs"--as well as those who were absent during the two days the questionnaires were administered. Our evidence shows that the boys who were absent were more likely to be those with low grades, for whom counselors predicted a low level of educational attainment.[1]

The reader should also keep in mind the small number of schools on which our research is based. Although these schools provided a satisfactory range of student social-class variation, we cannot be entirely certain that considerably raising the number of schools might not have changed our findings.

Comparison of boys' and parents' reports suggests the possibility of a fairly large margin of error in some of our data. But since the data generated so many individual findings compatible with those of other studies, and consistent with our theoretical expectations, our conclusions are probably conservative.

Suggestions for Further Research

Our procedures and research design limit the effectiveness with which our data can penetrate some problems of school effect. We mention these problems here to suggest what additional work is needed to resolve them. The problems fall into two main groups: those concerned with deciding more conclusively about the existence and extent of school effect, and those involved with specifying the processes responsible for their occurrence.

Whether or not schools change educational goals is a moot question primarily because of the quality of the research that has tried to answer this question. Basically, this research must become more thorough and more standardized.

Too much of the current research is non-comparable simply because of measurement procedures. Studies differ in the theoretical nature of the dependent variable, and this could make a big difference in the chances of finding school effects.[2] Moreover, these differences can be compounded by the chancy single-item measures most studies use to get information on these variables. Clearly, what is needed is some agreement on the crucial variables of interest; then reliable scales to measure them can be developed and standardized.

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[1] This was also true of boys who were absent for only one day, and from whom we, consequently, obtained half the data secured from boys present both days.

[2] For example, our study has been concerned primarily with school effect in terms of high educational goals (i.e., a strong commitment to completing 4 or more years of college). It may well be that schools cannot exert enough influence to change such a deep-seated orientation. But if the issue is merely planning to go to college, schools may be able to have some effect.

More thorough research is needed to establish precisely which presumed school effects are family-produced and which stem from the school's influence. Certainly, the ideal research design calls for a field experiment in which students of a given family background (matched, hopefully, on factors like IQ, grades, year in school, etc.) from one type of school are shifted to a different type, with data on their aspirations and goals obtained before and after the shift. One would also want to vary the proportion of students comprising the non-majority social class in schools in order to see to what extent school effect varies by the degree to which "deviant" students can find support for their values from others in the same situation.[1] Of course, such procedures are probably not feasible; researchers would find it hard indeed to make such manipulations in the face of the current demands for local control of schools. But, realistically, advantage could be taken of the increasing frequency with which students are being transferred from one school to another to achieve racial balance. In such cases, the logic of the field experiment can be approximated by obtaining the needed data, both before and after students have made their moves. Panel designs should also be given more attention. We need to know whether students' susceptibility to presumed school effects varies with grade level and with the length of time they have attended a given type of school. Panel studies, needless to say, should be started as early as possible in students' careers--as soon as they begin to have some inkling of their plans for higher education. This procedure would provide extremely valuable information on the crystallization of educational plans and on those students about whom information is most urgently needed--those who drop out of high school before the later years.

Further intensive research is needed because very little is known about why school effect occurs. Both intensive case studies and comparative field work should help decide between the major competing hypotheses--peer pressure and school quality. Intensive interviews could determine the extent to which boys with low goals in high-status schools and those with high goals attending low-status schools are social isolates. Beyond this, such studies would enable us to determine whether friends of divergent family backgrounds but with similar educational goals form their friendship on the basis of their common educational goals or whether these goals are an outgrowth of their friendship. Field work will of course allow study of communication patterns between boys of different social-class backgrounds. This type of research should be used to compare schools in which presumed school effects are found (by surveys) with those in which they are absent. This might reveal patterned differences in teaching techniques or counselor support. We want to know more about how schools can change boys' goals. Because this knowledge can be used to reorganize schools to start raising educational goals.

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[1] This procedure obviously involves assuming that school effect is a consequence of peer pressure. One could also assume, however, that school effects result from differences in the quality of education that are indexed by school social-class composition.

Some Policy Implications

Throughout the analysis of the data on school effect, we observed the dominance of family influence over that of the school. We found little consistent evidence that what is indexed by the social-class composition of schools changes boys' goals. This finding is for high schools as now organized and operated: Consequently, it suggests that to achieve substantial positive school effects, much thought and planning must be given to the question of how schools can best be changed to realize this objective.

Our findings stress that to set high goals for their sons, parents must believe these goals are feasible. This emphasizes the desirability of assuring parents and students that all who can demonstrate the ability and interest to achieve a higher education need not be concerned with the problem of paying for it. Moreover, since parents' and students' goal-setting is also influenced by their judgment of the academic feasibility of a college education, we think it important that the quality of education for all be such that a fair and sound basis is provided for evaluating academic ability and talent in high school and the earlier years.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF SCALES AND INDEX SCORES

DESCRIPTION OF SCALES AND INDEX SCORES

This appendix describes the scales and index scores which were developed for this study.[1] Throughout the planning of the study, we operated on the assumption that multiple-item measures of variables--and particularly attitudinal variables--were safer from the point of view of validity and reliability than variables the measure of which rested on the response to a single question. We, consequently, devoted a great deal of time to the construction of sets of items which could be used for ordering persons on the various dimensions of concern to the research. As with all the items in the questionnaires, those used in the scales and indexes were thoroughly pretested to insure that they were not beyond the reading and comprehension level of the boys who were to answer them.

When it appeared to be warranted theoretically we attempted to formulate sets of items which could be tested for unidimensionality by Guttman scalogram analysis.[2] The data were processed by a computer program.[3] Scores for respondents on any given scale were obtained by adding the ones and zeros assigned to the dichotomized responses for the items comprising the scale. Some of the scales involved the use of "contrived" items.[4]

In one respect or another, most of the Guttman scales used in this research do not satisfy the conditions which support the hypothesis of unidimensionality. Time was not available for further work which could have led to the improvement of the scales. We believe, however, that the use of the scales even if imperfect, is to be preferred to single-item measures.

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[1] One of them was not employed in the data analysis of this Report (Family "Standard of Living"). We include it here for its possible value in other investigations.

[2] Samuel A. Stouffer, Louis Guttman, Edward A. Suchman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Shirley A. Star, and John Clausen, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Vol. IV: Measurement and Prediction, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. For a non-technical description of cumulative scales, see Edward A. Suchman, "The Logic of Scale Construction," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 10, 1950, pp. 79-93.

[3] The program, called GOODI, is based on the Goodenough scaling method. A version of the program is available at the Institute for Social Research, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. A weakness of the program is its restriction to dichotomous items. Moreover, the program does not generate Menzel's measure of scalability which is superior to Guttman's Coefficient of Reproducibility as a basis for evaluating a cumulative scale. See Herbert A. Menzel, "A New Coefficient for Scalogram Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, 17, 1953, pp. 268-280.

[4] These were formed on a trial-and-error basis. For the more rigorous method see S. A. Stouffer, et. al. "A Technique for improving Cumulative Scales," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16, 1953, pp. 273-291.

The index scores used in the research represent combinations of items which were judged somewhat intuitively and by their association with social class to be roughly indicative of variables we wanted to measure. Answers to individual items which contributed to the index score were weighted in terms of the pattern of their relation to respondents' social class position.

Boys' Educational Goal

Boys were asked four questions to rank them on how certain they were of attaining levels of education ranging from high school graduation to completion of more than 4 years of college.[1] The questions formed a Guttman scale.[2] They are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low on Boys' Goal. Only the positive responses to the questions, as dichotomized, are given here.[3]

Scale Type[4] (Score)	Questions
5 (highest)	A. Do you think you will finish four years of college or university? Very sure I will.
4	B. Do you think you will finish more than four years of college or university? Very sure I will;[5] pretty sure I will.
3	C. Do you think you will go to college for at least 1 or 2 years? Very sure I will.
2	D. Do you think you will finish high school? Very sure I will.
1 (lowest)	None of the above answered positively.

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[1] We have called this variable "boys' goal" rather than using more descriptively accurate but more awkward phrases such as "certainty of attaining specified amount of education" or "expected level of educational achievement." The term "goal" is meaningful in that it can be assumed that the expectation of a given level of attainment is indicative of its having been adopted as a goal.

[2] The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.93; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.73.

[3] See Appendix B, Form B, p. 1 for questions and their context.

[4] In their final form, responses to all scale questions were dichotomized. Scale scores used in the data analysis do not represent scale types but rather the sum of the positive responses (each being given a weight of 1) to the questions constituting a given scale.

[5] There were no boys who gave the negative response to the first question (less than "very sure" of 4 years of college) who gave this positive response. In most of the analyses of boys' goals we have combined scale types 4 and 5 to constitute what we designate as "high" goals.

Boys' Aspiration Score

These scores are based on a combination of students' responses to (a) the question of how far they would like to go in school if there was nothing to stop them, and (b) their scores on a four-item Guttman scale intended to rank the students on how strong their feelings were about going to college. The four scale questions are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low on extent of positive feeling about college.[1] The responses representing the positive category in each of the items are given here. The negative responses are omitted; they can be found in the questionnaire.[2]

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
5 (Highest)	A.	Do you think you would or would not enjoy going to college? Very sure I would enjoy it.
4	B.	Would you rather do something else instead of going to college? Very sure I'd rather go to college.
3	C.	If there was nothing to stop you, how sure are you that you would or wouldn't want to go to college? Very sure I would want to.
2	D.	Do you think it would be a big mistake for you not to go to college if you could? Very sure it would be a big mistake.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered with the indicated positive response category.

In combining students' scale scores with their response to the single question of how far they would like to go in school, scale types 5 and 4 were merged to constitute the "high" category, 1 and 2 to constitute the "low" category. Scale type 3 constitutes the "intermediate" category. The manner in which student scale scores were combined with how far they would like to go in school to secure what we call their aspiration scores is shown below.

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[1] The Coefficient of Reproducibility of the scale is 0.92; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.69.

[2] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 8.

Boys' Aspiration Score	How Far Like to Go	Scale Score
5 (Highest)	More than 4 years college...and	High (5, 4)
4	More than 4 years college...and	Intermediate (3)
	4 years college............and	High (5, 4)
3	More than 4 years college...and	Low (1, 2)
	4 years college............and	Intermediate (3)
2	4 years college............and	Low (1, 2)
	Junior college.............and	High (5, 4)
	Junior college.............and	Intermediate (3)
1 (Lowest)	Junior college.............and	Low (1, 2)
	Trade school................and	All scale scores
	High school.................and	All scale scores

Boys's Estimation of His Academic Ability

These scores are based on a combination of students' response to (a) the question of how far they could go in school if they really wanted to, and (b) their scores on a four-item Guttman scale[1] developed to rank the students on how much difficulty they thought they would have in completing various levels of education, if they tried their best. The four questions comprising the scale are given below by scale type in rank order from high to low on ability.[2] The responses constituting the positive category in each of the items, as finally dichotomized are given here.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
5 (Highest)	A. If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy hard for you to finish 2 years at a junior college? Very easy.
4	B. If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy or hard for you to finish 4 years at a state college? Very easy or pretty easy.
3	C. If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy or hard for you to finish 4 years at a university? Very easy, easy, pretty hard.

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[1] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 5, for the wording of the question.

[2] The Coefficient of Reproducibility of the scale is 0.96; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.70.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
2	D.	If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy or hard for you to finish more than 4 years at a university? Very easy, easy, pretty hard, very hard.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered with the indicated positive response category.

In combining students' scale scores with their response to the question of how far they could go in school if they really wanted to, scale types 5 and 4 were merged to constitute the "high" group, 2 and 3 to constitute the "intermediate" group. Scale type 1 constitutes the "low" group. Boys' estimated ability scores were then derived from their responses to the single question of how far they could go in school taken in conjunction with their scale scores. The estimated ability scores thus obtained are presented below.

Estimated Ability Score	How Far Could Go	Scale Score
4 (Highest)	More than 4 years college...and	High (5, 4)
3	More than 4 years college...and	Intermediate (3, 2)
2	More than 4 years college...and	Low (1)
	4 years college............and	All scale scores
1 (Lowest)	Junior college.............and	All scale scores
	High school................and	All scale scores

Economic Feasibility Scale

Four questions comprise this Guttman scale which is intended to rank students in terms of the level of education they believe they could afford with family help.[1] The questions are presented below by scale type in rank order from high to low in terms of the level of education students say they could afford. The positive response to each of the questions is given here. All other responses can be found in the questionnaire.[2]

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[1] The Coefficiency of Reproducibility of the scale is 0.99; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.75.

[2] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 7.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
5 (Highest)	A. Could you afford to go 4 years to a private university? Very sure I could.
4	B. Could you afford to go 4 years to a state university? Very sure I could.
3	C. Could you afford to go 4 years to a state college? Very sure I could.
2	D. Could you afford to go 2 years to a junior college? Very sure I could.
1 (Lowest)	None of the questions answered with the indicated positive response category.

Boys' Concern With Grades

This Guttman scale consists of four items, two of which are treated as a pair.[1] The items are descriptive of the extent to which boys are concerned with their academic grades. The questions are listed by scale type in rank order from highest to lowest, the highest being indicative of greatest involvement in grades and the lowest representing the least concern.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
4 (Highest)	A. Do you or don't you try hard to get good grades in most of your subjects? Try very hard, get good grades without trying very hard.[2]
3	Ba. Does it or doesn't it bother you if you don't do well in your school work? Bothers me a lot. Bb. Is it or is it not important to you to get good grades? Very important.
	Questions Ba and Bb are scored as a pair. The pair are treated as a unit which is scored positively only if both questions are answered positively.
2	C. Do you or don't you care about the grades you get in school? Care a lot.
1 (Lowest)	None of the above answered positively, with questions Ba and Bb treated as a unit.

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[1] The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.92; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.66.

[2] The underlined responses are the positive ones. See Appendix B, Form A, p. 6, for questions and all response categories.

Liking for School

Four questions comprise this Guttman scale[1] which orders students on their liking for school. The questions are listed below by scale types in rank order from high to low on Liking for School. The positive responses are given here.[2]

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
5 (Highest)	A.	Do you ever wish you never had to go to school? Never.
4	B.	Do you ever feel you hate school? Never, hardly ever.
3	C.	Do you have a good time at school? Always, most of the time.
2	D.	Are there things about school you like very much? I like everything about it, I like most things, I like some things.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered positively.

Conformity to School Regulations

Three questions were asked for purposes of ranking students on their conformity to school regulations.[3] The questions yielded a Guttman scale.[4] The scale questions are shown here by scale types in rank order from high to low on Conformity to School Regulations. The positive responses to each of the questions are given here.[5]

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[1] The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.93; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.73.

[2] See Appendix B, Form, B, p. 15, for the questions and all response categories.

[3] One of the questions ("cutting school") asked directly about violation of a school regulation. The other two asked about penalties which are indicative of violations.

[4] The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.93; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.82.

[5] See Appendix B, Form B, p. 16, for the complete set of responses.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
4 (Highest)	A.	Have you ever been sent out of class this year for disciplinary reasons? Never.
3	B.	Have you cut school this year with other kids? Never, once.
2	C.	Have you been suspended from school this year? Never.
1. (Lowest)		Positive response not given to any of the three questions.

Favorability of Attitude to Teachers

Four questions descriptive of how favorably students regarded their teachers[1] were tested for their scalability. In the final form of the scale[2] two of the questions were treated as a unit and the others as individual items. The questions are presented below by scale types in rank order from high to low on Favorability of Attitude to Teachers. The positive responses are given here.[3]

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
4 (Highest)	A.	Do you think most of your teachers like you? Very sure most do.
3	Ba.	How well do you think most of your teachers understand your feelings? Very well, pretty well.
	Bb.	How often does a teacher say or do something that makes you feel angry? Never, hardly ever, sometimes.

Questions Ba and Bb are treated as a unit which was scored as positive only if a positive response was given to both questions.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
2	C.	Do you feel your teachers treat you fairly? All of them do, most of them do.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered positively.

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[1] The questions can be treated also as measures of perceived favorability of teachers' attitudes to the students.

[2] Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.94; minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.72.

[3] See Appendix B, Form B, p. 15, for the questions and all response categories.

Self-Esteem

Eight questions--requiring a "yes" or "no" answer--were used to develop a measure of students' self-esteem. Although not widely separated the questions were interspersed among others with four of them phrased positively and four negatively to counter a response set.[1] The initial analysis of the eight questions yielded an unsatisfactory Guttman scale.[2] By trial and error in combining responses to selected items, an improved scale was obtained based on (a) responses to two of them treated separately, (b) responses to four treated as a unit, and (c) responses to two others treated as a unit.[3] The questions are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low on Self-Esteem. Only the answers to the questions indicative of positive self-esteem are shown.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
5 (Highest)	Aa.	I'm not very satisfied with myself. No.
	Ab.	I think I can be prouder of myself than most boys. Yes.
	Ac.	I have a very good opinion of myself. Yes.
	Ad.	Many times I feel I'm no good at all. No.

Questions Aa, Ab, Ac, and Ad are scored as a unit. The unit is scored positively only if 3 or 4 of the questions are answered positively.

4	B.	I'm above average in many ways. Yes.
3	C.	I don't like myself much. No.
2	Da.	Most of the time I feel I'm not much good. No.
	Db.	I think there are many good things about me. Yes.

Questions Da and Db are scored as a unit. The unit is scored positively if one or both of the questions are answered positively.

1 (Lowest)	Responses not scored positively on the two sets of questions and on the two individual items.

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[1] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 9, for the items and their context.

[2] In terms of the low Coefficient of Reproducibility, closeness of marginals, etc.

[3] The Coefficient of Reproducibility of the scale is 0.90; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.76. This form of the scale yielded a higher association than others with social class, which has been shown to be correlated with self-esteem. See Morris Rosenberg, *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*, Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 41. Most of the items in our scale were a modification of those making up Rosenberg's scale of self-esteem.

Independence of Parents

Four dichotomous questions[1] were initially developed as a possible Guttman scale for measuring the extent to which our subjects subscribed to the position that, in general, when boys grow up they should live their lives independently of parental control. The pattern of responses to the four questions and the relation of the individual questions to students' social class position suggested that the four questions were not in the same domain; two appeared to fall in one area and two in another. They therefore are treated as separate variables. We designate the first area as "emotional independence of parents" and the second as "life-decision independence."

Emotional Independence

The two questions descriptive of this variable are given below with the positive response underlined. Each question is scored 1 or 0 so that scores on the variable range from 2 (more negative) to 0 (more positive).

A. When a man gets married he should still try to live as close to his parents as possible. No.

B. When a man gets married his wife should be more important to him than his parents. Yes.

Independence in Life Decisions

The two questions which measure this variable are treated in the same way as the questions relating to "emotional independence."

A. When a boy grows up he should live his life the way he wants to, no matter what his parents think. Yes.

B. When a boy grows up, he should think of what's good for his own future more than what's good for his parents. Yes.

Favorability of Attitude to Planning

All four dichotomous questions used to rank our subjects on the extent to which they have a favorable view of planning for the future yielded a very high percentage of positive responses. They thus failed to satisfy the initial condition of a cumulative scale. Three of the questions, therefore, were each assigned a weight of one allowing individuals to score from 3 to 0 on this variable,[1] depending on how many of the questions they answered positively. The questions and the positive responses to them follow.

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[1] See Appendix B, Form A, pp. 9-10, for the context of the questions.

A. It's important to make plans for your life and not just take what comes. Yes.

B. Planning is pretty useless because plans hardly ever work out. No.

C. There's no sense looking ahead because no one knows what the future will be like. No.

Effort Rewarded

Five items were used in an attempt to develop a Guttman scale for ranking subjects on the extent to which they believed that effort is rewarded by success in life. The responses to these items failed to satisfy the conditions of a scale.[2] Consequently, responses to four of the items[3] were each arbitrarily weighted 1 and 0 and the obtained values summed. These scores, ranging from 4 (highest) to 0 (lowest), constitute our measure of the variable, Belief that Effort is Rewarded. The four items and their positive responses are listed below.[4]

A. Anyone can make a success of his life if he tries hard enough. Yes.

B. The failures in life are mostly people who didn't try hard enough to make something of themselves. Yes.

C. No matter how hard you try, it's impossible to get ahead without luck or pull. No.

D. It's worthwhile to try hard to get ahead in this world. Yes.

---

[1] The fourth question ("A person has to plan for the future to get ahead in this world.") was omitted because unlike the others it was found to be uncorrelated with social class. It, therefore, was assumed that the response to this question was measuring a different variable. Unlike the other three items it explicitly refers to the concept of "getting ahead in this world." (See Appendix B, Form A, pp. 9-10, for the context of the four questions.)

[2] Primarily in that the marginals were rather uniformly extreme.

[3] The fifth item ("In this country everyone has the same chance to get ahead.") was not included because responses to it, unlike responses to the other items, were negatively correlated with respondents' social class position. It, therefore, was assumed to be in a different dimension.

[4] See Appendix B, Form A, pp. 9-10, for the context of the items.

Trust in People

Five dichotomous items were tested as a Guttman scale for the measurement of the variable Trust in People. One was eliminated[1] and the others formed a less than satisfactory Guttman scale.[2] The four items[3] were scored in the same way as the Effort Rewarded items. The items and their positive responses are given below.

A. If you don't watch out, most people will try to put something over on you. No.

B. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can trust. No.

C. Most people can be trusted. Yes.

D. A person is better off not trusting most people. No.

None of the above answered with the positive response.

Achievement Drive

Six questions with dichotomous responses were used initially in the attempt to develop a Guttman scale for ranking our subjects on the extent of their achievement drive. In the scale as finally used, two of the questions were eliminated.[4] The four questions making up the scale are presented below by scale type from high to low on Achievement Drive.

---

[1] The item ("Most people go out of their way to help others.") was eliminated because a positive response to it differed from responses to the other four items in being negatively correlated with the social class position of respondents.

[2] Two sets of items had almost identical marginals. The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.84; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.61.

[3] See Appendix B, Form A, pp. 9-10, for the context of the items.

[4] (a) When I don't succeed in things I try it really bothers me, (b) I'd rather take things easy than knock myself out trying to get ahead. These items were dropped because their retention made for a poorer scale in terms of the Coefficient of Reproducibility, the minimum marginal reproducibility, and the closeness of marginals. The four-question scale finally used has a Coefficient of Reproducibility of 0.84; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.66.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
5 (Highest)	A. I like to do well in some things but don't really try very hard. No.
4	B. In most things I do just enough to get by. No.
3	C. If I try for something, I go all out to make it. Yes.
2	D. I try harder than most boys in things that are important to me. Yes.
1 (Lowest)	None of the questions answered positively.

Non-Utilitarian Orientation to Education and Occupation

Six dichotomous items were included in the initial formulation of this scale but three were subsequently discarded.[1] The remaining items which constituted a scale[2] are given below by scale type from high to low on Non-Utilitarian Orientation to Education and Occupation. The positive response is given here.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
4 (Highest)	A. The most important thing about a college education is that you can get a better paying job. No.
3	B. It's more important to be an educated person than to make a lot of money. Yes.
2	C. The enjoyment a man gets out of his work is more important than how much it pays. Yes.
1 (Lowest)	None of the questions answered positively.

---

[1] (a) The best way to judge a man is by how much money he makes. (b) The respect a man gets for the work he does is more important than how much it pays. (c) The most important thing about a college education is that it means you can understand things like art, music and literature. The first item was eliminated because it was answered negatively by 99 percent of the sample; the other two were omitted because of other scaling considerations.

[2] The scale's Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.91; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.72.

Parents' Goal Scores

Educational goal scores were calculated separately for fathers and mothers. The scores were derived from an identical set of questions which boys were asked about their mothers and fathers.[1] The questions yielded the same values when used to obtain the goal scores for fathers and mothers. Consequently, the goal scores of both parents were secured as described below.

Boys were asked (a) how far each of their parents wanted them to go in school, and (b) a group of four questions the answers to which were descriptive of how intensely their parents wanted them to go to college. The four questions formed a Guttman scale. The goal scores are based on responses to the single question combined with scores on the scale questions.

The four scale questions are given here by scale type in rank order from high to low on how intensely fathers and mothers felt about their sons going to college.[2] Unlike most of the other scales the scale types here were determined by taking account of responses to pairs of questions rather than single questions.[3] This procedure yielded three scale types. Parents falling in the highest scale type are those whose sons gave the positive response to all four questions as finally dichotomized. The lowest scale type is made up of parents whose sons failed to give the positive answer to both the first two (Aa and Ab) and both the last two questions (Ba and Bb). The intermediate type consists of parents whose sons responded to the last two questions with the positive category but did not do so in reply to both of the first two questions. The questions are listed below along with the positive responses.[4]

---

[1] All questions relating to mothers were included in Form A of the questionnaire and those relating to fathers in Form B. The two parts of the questionnaire were administered on different days to reduce the influences of responses about mothers on responses to questions about fathers.

[2] The Coefficient of Reproducibility of the scale for mothers is 0.97; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.66. The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the fathers' scale is 0.99; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.64.

[3] This was done because the paired questions had very similar proportions of positive responses.

[4] The negative responses can be seen in the questionnaires. For mothers' questions, see Appendix B, Form A, p. 16; for fathers' questions, see Form B, p. 11.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
3 (Highest)	Aa. Do you think your mother (father) would or would not be disappointed if you didn't go to college? Would be very disappointed.
	Ab. Do you think it would or would not bother her (him) very much if you told her (him) you did not want to go to college? Very sure it would bother her (him).
2 (Intermediate)	Ba. Do you think she (he) feels it is or is not important for you to go to college? Feels it is very important.
	Bb. How sure are you she (he) does or doesn't want you to go to college? Very sure she (he) wants me to go.
1 (Lowest)	Positive responses not given to both the first two questions.

Parents' goal scores represent a combination of their scale scores and of their sons' response to the question of how far their mothers (fathers) wanted them to go in school.

Parent Goal Score	How Far Parent Wants	Scale Score
5 (Highest)	More than 4 years college...and	High (3)
4	More than 4 years college...and	Intermediate (2)
	4 years college.............and	High (3)
3	More than 4 years college...and	Low (1)
	4 years college.............and	Intermediate (2)
	Son doesn't know[1]...........and	High (3)
2	4 years college.............and	Low (1)
	Junior college..............and	High (3)
	Junior college..............and	Intermediate (2)
	Son doesn't know...........and	Intermediate (2)
1 (Lowest)	Son doesn't know...........and	Low (1)
	Junior college..............and	Low (1)
	High school.................and	All scale scores
	Trade school................and	All scale scores

---

[1] An appreciable number of boys indicated they didn't know how far their mothers (fathers) wanted them to go in school. Since many of these boys answered the scale questions about their parents it was possible to assign goal scores to their parents. We were able to do so by means of the analysis which guided us in establishing the combinations of scale scores and responses to the "how far parent wants son to go" question, which determined the parent goal scores. In this analysis we examined the relationship of the many possible combinations (including combinations involving the "don't know" response to the "how far" question) to variables such as social class of family, boys' own aspiration, goal scores, etc.

Parents' Interest in School Work

The Guttman scale for ranking mothers and fathers on their interest in their sons' school work was based on the same three questions for both parents.[1] Both scales proved to be identical in the ordering of the questions and in the positive responses. The scale questions are listed below by scale types in rank order from high to low on Parents' Interest. Only the positive responses are given here.[2]

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
4 (Highest)	A. Does your mother (father) get after you to do well in your school work? Yes, gets after me a lot, doesn't have to get after me to do well.
3	B. When you get low grades in school, does it or doesn't it bother her (him)? Bothers her (him) alot, never get low grades.
2	C. How much interest does your mother (father) have in how well you are doing in your school work? A lot.
1 (Lowest)	None of the questions answered positively.

Amount of Autonomy Granted by Parents

The same four questions were asked boys about both parents to form Guttman scales which would rank the boys on the extent to which they viewed their mothers and fathers as allowing them to act autonomously.[3] The ordering of the questions and the positive response for the questions when dichotomized were the same for mothers and fathers.[4] Consequently, the scale description which follows is applicable to boys' responses for both parents. The questions are listed by scale types ranked from high to low on the extent to which mother (father) is perceived as Granting Autonomy. The positive responses are given below.

---

[1] The Coefficient of Reproducibility of the mothers' scale is 0.91; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.72. The corresponding figures for the fathers' scale are 0.92 and 0.67, respectively.

[2] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 15, for the questions regarding mothers, and Form B, p. 24, for the questions regarding fathers.

[3] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 13, for the questions regarding mothers, and Form B, p. 8, for the questions regarding fathers.

[4] The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the mothers' scale is 0.83; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.66. The corresponding figures for the fathers' scale are 0.85 and 0.67, respectively.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
5 (Highest)	A.	When you don't know why she (he) decides something for you, or has some rules for you to follow, will she (he) explain the reason? Always.
4	B.	When something has to be decided between you and your mother (father) how is it done most of the time? She (he) lets me do what I want no matter what her (his) opinion is; I can decide for myself, but she (he) would like me to think about her (his) opinion; my opinions are as important as hers (his) in deciding what I should do.
3	C.	Does your mother (father) give you less or more freedom to decide things for yourself than she (he) did 2 or 3 years ago? Much more freedom.
2	D.	In most things does she (he) like you to think things out for yourself or to go along with what she (he) thinks? Likes me to think things out for myself.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered positively.

Mother as Source of Self-Esteem

Five questions comprise the Guttman scale[1] we use for measuring the extent to which boys preceive their mothers as a source of self esteem.[2] The questions are given here by scale types ranked from high to low on the variable. The positive responses are given.

---

[1] The scale's Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.89; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.70.

[2] See Appendix B, Form A, pp. 12-13.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
6 (Highest)	A.	How often does she say or do something that makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world? Many times, quite often.
5	B.	How often does she say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself? Many times, quite often.
4	C.	How often does she give you the feeling that she's proud of you? Many times, quite often.
3	D.	Do you think she is or is not satisfied with you just the way you are? Very sure she is satisfied, pretty sure she is satisfied.
2	E.	Do you ever feel she expects you to be perfect in everything you do? All answers other than "many times."
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered positively.

Father as Source of Self Esteem

The five questions used to measure students' perception of their fathers[1] as a source of their self-esteem were the same as those used for their mothers. The scale obtained for fathers[2] differed substantially, however, from that of mothers.[3] Two of the questions in the fathers' scale were combined to be treated as a unit because their marginals were identical when the responses to them were dichotomized. The questions are shown below by scale types running from high to low. The positive responses are given here.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
5 (Highest)	Aa.	Do you ever feel he expects you to be perfect in everything you do? Never.
	Ab.	How often does he give you the feeling that he's proud of you? Many times.

---

[1] See Appendix B, Form B, pp. 7-8.

[2] The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.92; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.72.

[3] In the ordering of the questions and in what constituted their positive responses, when the possible answers to the questions were dichotomized.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
Questions Aa and Ab were scored as a unit. The unit was scored positive if the response to both questions was the positive one.		
4	B.	How often does he say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself? Many times, quite a few times.
3	C.	How often does he say or do something which makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world? Many times, quite a few times, sometimes.
2	D.	Do you think he is or isn't satisfied with you just the way you are? Very sure he is satisfied, pretty sure he is satisfied.
1 (Lowest)		Positive response not given to all preceding questions.

Mothers' Helpfulness

The same four questions were asked regarding mothers and fathers for purposes of measuring the extent to which they were perceived by their sons as helpful persons with whom to discuss their problems. (The Guttman scales formed by these questions differed for mothers[1] and fathers and therefore are reported separately.) The questions are presented below by scale type ranked from high to low on Mothers' Helpfulness. Only the positive responses to each of the questions are given.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
5 (Highest)	A.	Most times when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel it will or won't help to talk to her? Very sure it will help.
4	B.	How well do you think she understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age? She understands them very well.
3	C.	Do you think she does or doesn't want you to tell her when something is worrying or bothering you? Very sure she does.
2	D.	Is your mother the kind of person who is easy or hard to talk to about most things that might be worrying or bothering you? Very easy to talk to, pretty easy.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered positively.

---

[1] See Appendix B, Form A, p. 13 for mothers' questions. The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the mothers' scale is 0.90; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.72.

Father's Helpfulness

The question comprising the Guttman scale[1] for ranking boys on their perception of their fathers' helpfulness are given below.[2] They are presented by scale type ranked from high to low on Father's Helpfulness. Only the positive responses are given.

Scale Type (Score)	Questions
5 (Highest)	A. Most times when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel it will or won't help to talk to him about it? Very sure it will help.
4	B. Do you think he does or doesn't want you to tell him when something is worrying or bothering you? Very sure he does.
3	C. Is your father the kind of person who is easy or hard to talk to about most things that might be worrying or bothering you? Very easy to talk to, pretty easy.
2	D. How well do you think he understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age? Very well, pretty well.
1 (Lowest)	None of the questions answered positively.

Identification With Parents

The same three questions comprising the Guttman scale for measuring identification were used for mothers and fathers.[3] The ordering of the items in the two scales was identical and the responses to each of the questions were dichotomized at the same point for both parents. Consequently, the following description of the scale holds for both mothers and fathers. The scale questions are given by scale types in rank order from high to low on Identification With Parents. The positive responses only are given.

---

[1] The Coefficient of Reproducibility is 0.91; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.69.

[2] See Appendix B, Form B, pp. 8-9, for the questions and their response categories.

[3] The Coefficient of Reproducibility of the mothers' scale is 0.93; the minimum marginal reproducibility is 0.66. The corresponding figures for the fathers' scale are 0.90 and 0.68.

Scale Type (Score)		Questions
4 (Highest)	A.	Would you like to be the kind of person your mother (father) is? In every way, in most ways.[1]
3	B.	Are you proud or not proud of your mother (father)? Very proud.
2	C.	How much does it mean to you for your mother (father) to have a good opinion of you? It means a lot.
1 (Lowest)		None of the questions answered positively.

Family "Standard of Living"

The four questions comprising this index were selected to provide a rough measure of the standard of living of respondents' families. As expected, all questions were found to be correlated with families' social class position. Responses to items with more than two answers were scored 2, 1, or 0 depending on their differential association with family social class. Dichotomous items were scored 1 and 0. Total scores on this index range from 6 (presumably indicative of the highest standard of living) to 0 (indicative of the lowest). The items and the scores for the various responses are shown below.

Item[2]	Responses	Score
Own or rent home	Own home	1
	Rent	0
Bedrooms in home	4 or more	2
	3	1
	2 or 1	0
Boy has own room	Yes	1
	No	0
Bathrooms in home	4 or 3	2
	2	1
	1	0

---

[1] The questions regarding mothers are found in Appendix B, Form A, p. 14; the questions regarding fathers are found in Appendix B, Form B, p. 9.

[2] These items are to be found in Appendix B, Form A, p. 3.

Family "Cultural Level" Index

This index is based on scores assigned to boys' responses to eight items presumed to be indicative of the cultural level of the home. The maximum value of the index is 14, and the minimum is 0. The items were selected on the basis of their positive association with respondents' family social class position. Responses to the dichotomous items were scored 1 and 0. Answers to items having more than two possible responses were scored as indicated below by the pattern of their relationship with respondents' class position.

Item[1]	Responses	Score
Encyclopedia in the home	Yes	1
	No	0
Number of books in the home	200 or more	3
	100 to 200	2
	25 to 100	1
	Under 25	0
Number of daily newspapers	2 or more	2
	1	1
	0	0
Number of magazines received	6	4
	3 to 5	3
	2	2
	1	1
	0	0
Classical records in the home	Yes	1
	No	0
Show-tune records in the home	Yes	1
	No	0
Boy had music lessons	Yes	1
	No	0
Boy had dancing lessons	Yes	1
	No	0

---

[1] The first of these items is in Appdendix B, Form A, p. 3; the others are on Form A, p. 4.

APPENDIX B

STUDY INSTRUMENTS

BOYS A

STANFORD STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

1. THIS IS NOT A TEST OR EXAM.
2. Nobody in the school will see your answers.
3. Please do not talk.

HOW TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS

1. Read each question carefully.
2. Look at the different answers to each question.
3. Put an X beside the answer that fits you best.

Be sure to answer every question.

Dr. Paul Wallin
Mrs. Freda B. Wallin
Directors
Stanford Study of High School Students

(cut here)

PLEASE PRINT YOUR NAME HERE______________________________.
We need your name because this survey is divided into different parts and we have to be able to put them together. This part of the page will be cut off in the Stanford Research Office and your form will have only a number on it.

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

6. How old were you on your last birthday?
(1) 14____
(2) 15____
(3) 16____
(4) 17____
(5) 18____
(6) Over 18____

7a. In what country were you born?
____ (1) United States
____ (2) Other (Which?)________________________________

7b. In what country was your father born?
____ (1) United States
____ (2) Other (Which?)________________________________

7c. In what country was your mother born?
____ (1) United States
____ (2) Other (Which?)________________________________

8. Are you:
____ (1) Oriental
____ (2) White
____ (3) Negro
____ (4) Other (What?)________________________________

9a. Are your parents living?
____ (1) Both are
____ (2) Only mother is
____ (3) Only father is
____ (4) Neither one is

9b. If your parents are both alive, are they:
____ (1) Living together
____ (2) Separated
____ (3) Divorced
____ (4) One or both parents not living

10. With whom do you live?
____ (1) Mother and father
____ (2) Mother and step-father
____ (3) Mother only
____ (4) Mother and someone else. Who?____________________
____ (5) Father and step-mother
____ (6) Father only
____ (7) Father and someone else. Who?____________________
____ (8) Neither parent but someone else like grandmother, aunt, or foster parents. Who?________________________

……

11. How long have you been in this school?
____ (1) This is my first semester
____ (2) This is my second semester
____ (3) This is my third semester
____ (4) This is my fourth semester
____ (5) More than 4 semesters

12. What school did you go to in the 9th grade?
____ (1) This school only
____ (2) This school and another one. Which one?

____________	____________	____________
name of school	city	state

____ (3) Another school only. Which one?

____________	____________	____________
name of school	city	state

13. If it was up to you, which high school in this school district would you like to be at?
____ (1) The school I'm at now
____ (2) Another school. Which one?____________________

14a. How many brothers do you have? (Count step-brothers and half-brothers)
(1) One____
(2) Two____
(3) Three____
(4) Four____
(5) Five____
(6) Six or more____
(7) Have no brothers____

14b. How many sisters do you have? (Count step-sisters and half-sisters)
(1) One____
(2) Two____
(3) Three____
(4) Four____
(5) Five____
(6) Six or more____
(7) Have no sisters____

14c. How many brothers or sisters live away from home all or most of the time?
(1) One____
(2) Two____
(3) Three or more____
(4) None live away____
(5) Have no brothers or sisters____

15. Do your parents, or the people you live with now, own or rent their home?
(1) Own it____ (2) Rent it____

16. How many people live in your home? (Counting yourself, brothers and sisters, parents, relatives, friends, boarders, and so on)
____ (1) two or three
____ (2) four or five
____ (3) six or seven
____ (4) eight or more

17. How many bedrooms are there in your home?
____ (1) one
____ (2) two
____ (3) three
____ (4) four or more

18. Do you have your own room at home or do you share it?
(1) Have my own room____ (2) Share it____

19. How many bathrooms are there in your home?
(1) One____ (2) Two____ (3) Three or more____

20. How well off is your family?
____ (1) Hardly able to make a living
____ (2) Have just enough to live on
____ (3) Pretty well off
____ (4) Very well off
____ (5) Pretty rich

21. Has your family ever received welfare payments from the State?
(1) No, never____
(2) Not now, but used to____
(3) Yes, now____
(4) Don't know____

22. Is there a set of encyclopedia books in your home?
(1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

23. About how many books are there in your home?
____ (1) None
____ (2) 1 to 4
____ (3) 5 to 9
____ (4) 10 to 25
____ (5) 25 to 50
____ (6) 50 to 100
____ (7) 100 to 200
____ (8) 200 or more

24. Does your family get a daily newspaper?
(1) No____ (2) Yes, one____ (3) Yes, two or more____

25. What magazines do your parents get regularly? (Every week or month)

____

____

____

____ I don't think they get any magazines regularly.

Are there any of these phonograph records in your home? Check Yes or No for each kind of record.

	(1) Yes	(2) No	
26.	____	____	Rock and roll
27.	____	____	Jazz
28.	____	____	Classical (like symphony or opera)
29.	____	____	Folk music
30.	____	____	Show tunes (like Broadway musicals)
31.	____	____	Other records (Which?)____________________

Have you ever had lessons outside of school in music, art, or dancing?

32. Music	33. Art	34. Dancing
(1) Yes____	(1) Yes____	(1) Yes____
(2) No____	(2) No____	(2) No____

35. Now one more question about your family. An American scientist has said that in the United States there are four classes: the MIDDLE, the WORKING, the UPPER, and the LOWER. In which class would you say your family belongs? If you don't know for sure, make a guess.

Upper____ Class   Middle____ Class   Working____ Class   Lower____ Class

IF MIDDLE CLASS, would you say your family belongs in the:

Upper middle____   Middle middle____   Lower middle____

HOW FAR COULD YOU GO IN SCHOOL IF YOU REALLY WANTED TO?

36. By now you have a pretty good idea of how good you are at school work. Keeping this in mind, how far do you think you could go in school if you really wanted to?

____ (1) I could finish high school
____ (2) I could finish junior college (2 years of college)
____ (3) I could finish 4 years of college
____ (4) I could finish more than 4 years of college

37. If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy or hard for you to finish two years at a junior college like Foothill or San Mateo?

____ (1) Very easy
____ (2) Pretty easy
____ (3) Pretty hard
____ (4) Very hard
____ (5) Impossible or almost impossible

38. If you tried your best, do you think it would be hard or easy for you to finish four years at a college like San Jose or San Francisco State?

____ (1) Impossible or almost impossible
____ (2) Very hard
____ (3) Pretty hard
____ (4) Pretty easy
____ (5) Very easy

39. If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy or hard for you to finish four years at a university like Stanford or University of California at Berkeley?

____ (1) Very easy
____ (2) Pretty easy
____ (3) Pretty hard
____ (4) Very hard
____ (5) Impossible or almost impossible

40. If you tried your best, do you think it would be easy or hard for you to finish more than four years at a university like Stanford or Berkeley?

____ (1) Impossible or almost impossible
____ (2) Very hard
____ (3) Pretty hard
____ (4) Pretty easy
____ (5) Very easy

41. What grades did you get last semester?

____ (1) Mostly A's
____ (2) Mostly A's and B's
____ (3) Mostly B's
____ (4) Mostly B's and C's
____ (5) Mostly C's
____ (6) Mostly lower than C's

42. What grades could you have gotten last semester if you had tried your best?

____ (1) The same grades I got because I did try my best

I could have gotten:

____ (2) Mostly A's
____ (3) Mostly A's and B's
____ (4) Mostly B's
____ (5) Mostly B's and C's
____ (6) Mostly C's
____ (7) Mostly lower than C's

43. Do you or don't you care about the grades you get in school?

____ (1) Care a lot
____ (2) Care some
____ (3) Care a little
____ (4) Don't care at all

44. Do you or don't you try hard to get good grades in most of your subjects?

____ (1) Don't try at all
____ (2) Try a little
____ (3) Try pretty hard
____ (4) Try very hard
____ (5) I get good grades without trying very hard

45. Does it or doesn't it bother you if you don't do well in your school work?

____ (1) Bothers me a lot
____ (2) Bothers me some
____ (3) Bothers me a little
____ (4) Doesn't bother me at all

46. Is it or is it not important to you to get good grades?

____ (1) Not at all important
____ (2) Not very important
____ (3) Pretty important
____ (4) Very important

SOME BOYS AND GIRLS WHO WANT TO GO TO COLLEGE CAN AFFORD IT WITH THEIR FAMILY'S HELP. SOME CAN'T BECAUSE THEY HAVE TO MAKE A LIVING OR HAVE TO HELP THEIR FAMILY. IF YOU WANTED TO GO TO COLLEGE, COULD YOU AFFORD TO GO WITH YOUR FAMILY'S HELP OR WILL YOU HAVE TO START EARNING MONEY RIGHT AFTER HIGH SCHOOL?

WITH YOUR FAMILY'S HELP:

47. Could you afford to go two years to a junior college like Foothill or San Mateo?

____ (1) Very sure I could
____ (2) Pretty sure I could
____ (3) Pretty sure I couldn't
____ (4) Very sure I couldn't

48. Could you afford to go four years to a state college like San Jose or San Francisco State?

____ (1) Very sure I could
____ (2) Pretty sure I could
____ (3) Pretty sure I couldn't
____ (4) Very sure I couldn't

49. Could you afford to go four years to a state university like Berkeley?

____ (1) Very sure I could
____ (2) Pretty sure I could
____ (3) Pretty sure I couldn't
____ (4) Very sure I couldn't

50. Could you afford to go four years to a private university like Stanford?

____ (1) Very sure I could
____ (2) Pretty sure I could
____ (3) Pretty sure I couldn't
____ (4) Very sure I couldn't

51. If your family could afford to help you, do you think they would want to?

____ (1) Very sure they wouldn't want to
____ (2) Pretty sure they wouldn't want to
____ (3) Pretty sure they would want to
____ (4) Very sure they would want to
____ (5) Family couldn't afford to help me

HOW FAR YOU WOULD LIKE TO GO IN SCHOOL

IF THERE WAS NOTHING TO STOP THEM SOME BOYS WOULD LIKE TO GO TO COLLEGE. SOME WOULD NOT. HOW ABOUT YOU? IF YOU PLAN TO GO TO COLLEGE OR NOT, THE NEXT 6 QUESTIONS WILL TELL US HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS.

52. If there was nothing to stop you, how far would you really want to go in school? (Check one answer)
____ (1) Finish 10th grade
____ (2) Finish 11th grade
____ (3) Finish high school
____ (4) Finish high school and go to a school which is not a junior college to learn an occupation (like barber or electrician)
____ (5) Go to a junior college or university for a few years
____ (6) Finish 4 years of college or university
____ (7) Finish more than 4 years of college
____ (8) Other (What?)________________________________

53. If there was nothing to stop you how sure are you that you would or wouldn't want to go to college?
____ (1) Very sure I would want to
____ (2) Pretty sure I would want to
____ (3) Pretty sure I wouldn't want to
____ (4) Very sure I wouldn't want to

54. Would you rather do something else instead of going to college?
____ (1) Very sure I'd rather do something else
____ (2) Pretty sure I'd rather do something else
____ (3) Pretty sure I'd rather go to college
____ (4) Very sure I'd rather go to college

55. Do you think you would or would not enjoy going to college?
____ (1) Very sure I wouldn't enjoy it
____ (2) Pretty sure I wouldn't enjoy it
____ (3) Pretty sure I would enjoy it
____ (4) Very sure I would enjoy it

56. Do you think going to college would or wouldn't make your life happier than if you didn't go?
____ (1) Very sure it wouldn't make my life happier
____ (2) Pretty sure it wouldn't make my life happier
____ (3) Pretty sure it would make life happier
____ (4) Very sure it would make my life happier

57. Do you think it would be a big mistake for you not to go to college if you could?
____ (1) Very sure it would be a big mistake
____ (2) Pretty sure it would be
____ (3) Pretty sure it wouldn't be a big mistake
____ (4) Very sure it wouldn't be

HERE ARE SOME THINGS BOYS SAY WHICH TELL WHAT THEY THINK ABOUT THEMSELVES. FOR EACH THING PUT AN X UNDER FITS ME IF IT DOES, AND UNDER DOESN'T FIT ME IF IT DOES NOT.

(1) Fits Me	(2) Doesn't Fit Me	
____	____	58. If I try for something, I go all out to make it.
____	____	59. I'm not very satisfied with myself.
____	____	60. When I don't succeed in things I try, it really bothers me.
____	____	61. I'm above average in many ways.
____	____	62. I like to do well in some things but don't really try very hard.
____	____	63. Many times I feel I'm no good at all.
____	____	64. I try harder than most boys in things that are important to me.
____	____	65. I have a very good opinion of myself.
____	____	66. In most things I do just enough to get by.
____	____	67. I think I can be prouder of myself than most boys.
____	____	68. I'd rather take things easy than knock myself out trying to get ahead.
____	____	69. Most of the time I feel I'm not much good.
____	____	70. I feel happy most of the time.
____	____	71. I think there are many good things about me.
____	____	72. I don't like myself much.
____	____	73. I think most boys who know me have a very good opinion of me.

HERE ARE DIFFERENT THINGS PEOPLE SAY WHICH TELL HOW THEY FEEL ABOUT LIFE. TELL IF YOU MOSTLY AGREE OR MOSTLY DISAGREE BY PUTTING AN X NEXT TO EACH STATEMENT. ANSWER EVERY STATEMENT WITH ONLY ONE X EVEN IF YOU'RE NOT SURE OF YOUR OPINION.

(1) MOSTLY AGREE	(2) MOSTLY DISAGREE	II 1-5
____	____	6. If you don't watch out, most people will try to put something over on you.
____	____	7. The respect a man gets for the work he does is more important than how much it pays.
____	____	8. Anyone can make a success of his life if he tries hard enough.
____	____	9. When a boy grows up, he should live his life the way he wants to, no matter what his parents think.
____	____	10. There's no sense looking ahead because no one knows what the future will be like.

(1) MOSTLY AGREE	(2) MOSTLY DISAGREE	
____	____	11. Most people can be trusted.
____	____	12. When a man gets married he should still try to live as close to his parents as possible.
____	____	13. The enjoyment a man gets out of his work is more important than how much it pays.
____	____	14. Planning is pretty useless because plans hardly ever work out.
____	____	15. The failures in life are mostly people who didn't try hard enough to make something of themselves.
____	____	16. Most people go out of their way to help others.
____	____	17. A person has to plan for the future to get ahead in this world.
____	____	18. The most important thing about a college education is that it means you can understand things like art, music, and literature.
____	____	19. A person is better off not trusting most people.
____	____	20. No matter how hard you try, it's impossible to get ahead without luck or pull.

(1) MOSTLY AGREE	(2) MOSTLY DISAGREE	
____	____	21. When a man gets married his wife should be more important to him than his parents.
____	____	22. The most important thing about a college education is that you can get a better paying job.
____	____	23. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can trust.
____	____	24. The best way to judge a man is by how much money he makes.
____	____	25. It's worthwhile to try hard to get ahead in the world.
____	____	26. It's important to make plans for your life and not just take what comes.
____	____	27. When a boy grows up, he should think of what's good for his own future more than what's good for his parents.
____	____	28. In this country everyone has the same chance to get ahead.
____	____	29. It's more important to be an educated person than to make a lot of money.

ABOUT YOUR MOTHER OR THE WOMAN TAKING HER PLACE

30a. Are you living with your real mother?
____ (1) Yes ____ (2) No

30b. If you are not living with your real mother, are you living with a woman who takes her place?
____ (1) No
____ (2) Yes (Who is it?)________________________________
(stepmother, foster mother, grandmother, aunt, or who?)

Answer the questions on pages 11 to 18 about your real mother if you live with her.

If you are not living with your real mother answer them about the woman you live with who is taking her place.

If you don't live with your mother or with a woman who takes her place, skip to page 19.

31. How far did she go in school? (Check one answer)
____ (1) Grade 6 or less
____ (2) Grade 7, 8, or 9
____ (3) Finished grade 10 or 11
____ (4) Finished high school
____ (5) Went to junior college or university 1, 2, or 3 years
____ (6) Finished 4 years of college
____ (7) Finished more than 4 years of college
____ (8) I don't know

32. Did she go to a special school to learn to be a secretary, a nurse, a beauty operator, or something else?
____ (1) I don't know
____ (2) No, she didn't
____ (3) Yes, she went to learn how to be a ____________________

33. Does she have a job outside the home?
____ (1) Yes, part time
____ (2) Yes, full time
____ (3) Yes, only in the summer
____ (4) No, she does not work outside the home

34. If she has a job, what work does she do? ____________________

Where does she work?________________________________
(like in an office, factory, store, or where?)

35. What is her religion?
____ (1) Protestant
____ (2) Catholic
____ (3) Jewish
____ (4) Other (What?)____________________

YOU AND YOUR MOTHER
ANSWER ABOUT YOUR MOTHER OR THE WOMAN TAKING HER PLACE

36. How do you get along with your mother most of the time?
____ (1) Get along very well
____ (2) Pretty well
____ (3) Not too well
____ (4) Poorly
____ (5) Very poorly

37. How often does she give you the feeling that she's proud of you?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Hardly ever
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Quite a few times
____ (5) Many times

38. Do you think she is or is not satisfied with you just the way you are?
____ (1) Very sure she is satisfied
____ (2) Pretty sure she is satisfied
____ (3) Pretty sure she isn't satisfied
____ (4) Very sure she isn't satisfied

39. How often do you have disagreements with her?
____ (1) All the time
____ (2) Most of the time
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Almost never
____ (5) Never

40. How often does she say or do something which makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

41. Do you ever feel she expects you to be perfect in everything you do?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

42. How often does she say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

43. When something has to be decided between you and your mother, how is it done most of the time?

____ (1) She just tells me what to do

____ (2) She listens to me but decides herself

____ (3) I have some chance to decide myself but she has the last say

____ (4) My opinions are as important as hers in deciding what I should do

____ (5) I can decide for myself but she would like me to think about her opinion

____ (6) She lets me do what I want, no matter what her opinion is

____ (7) She doesn't care what I do

44. Does your mother give you less or more freedom to decide things for yourself than she did two or three years ago?
____ (1) Much more freedom
____ (2) A little more
____ (3) About the same
____ (4) A little less freedom
____ (5) Much less

45. When you don't know why she decides something for you, or has some rules for you to follow, will she explain the reason?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once in a while
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Most times
____ (5) Always

46. In most things, does she like you to think things out for yourself or to go along with what she thinks?
____ (1) Likes me to go along with what she thinks
____ (2) Likes me to think things out for myself

47. How well do you think she understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age?
____ (1) She understands them very well
____ (2) Pretty well
____ (3) Not very well
____ (4) She doesn't understand at all

48. Is your mother the kind of person that is easy or hard to talk to about most things that might be worrying or bothering you?

____ (1) Very hard to talk to
____ (2) Pretty hard
____ (3) Pretty easy
____ (4) Very easy to talk to

49. Do you think she does or doesn't want you to tell her when something is worrying or bothering you?

____ (1) Very sure she does
____ (2) Pretty sure she does
____ (3) Pretty sure she doesn't
____ (4) Very sure she doesn't

50. Most times when something is worrying or bothering you do you feel it will or won't help to talk to her about it?

____ (1) Very sure it won't help
____ (2) Pretty sure it won't help
____ (3) Pretty sure it will help
____ (4) Very sure it will help

51. Are you proud or not proud of your mother?

____ (1) Not at all proud
____ (2) Not very proud
____ (3) Pretty proud
____ (4) Very proud

52. How much does it mean to you for your mother to have a good opinion of you?

____ (1) It means a lot
____ (2) It means a fair amount
____ (3) It means a little
____ (4) I don't care what she thinks of me

53. Would you like to be the kind of person your mother is?

____ (1) In every way
____ (2) In most ways
____ (3) In some ways
____ (4) In just a few ways
____ (5) Not at all

YOUR MOTHER AND SCHOOL
ANSWER ABOUT YOUR MOTHER OR THE WOMAN TAKING HER PLACE

54. How much interest does your mother have in how well you are doing with your school work?
____ (1) A lot
____ (2) Some
____ (3) A little
____ (4) No interest at all

55. Has she ever said anything which shows she thinks it's important for you to go to college?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once
____ (3) A few times
____ (4) Many times

56. Has she ever said anything which shows she thinks college is not for you?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) A few times
____ (3) Once
____ (4) Never

57. When you get low grades in school does it or doesn't it bother her?
____ (1) Bothers her a lot
____ (2) Bothers her some
____ (3) Bothers her a little
____ (4) Doesn't bother her at all
____ (5) Never get low grades

58. Does she get after you to do well in your school work?
____ (1) No, doesn't have to get after me to do well
____ (2) No, let's me do what I want about it
____ (3) Yes, gets after me but not hard
____ (4) Yes, gets after me quite a bit
____ (5) Yes, gets after me a lot

59. In her opinion, how far could you go in school if you tried your best?
____ (1) She thinks I could finish 4 or more years of college
____ (2) She thinks I could finish a couple of years of college
____ (3) She thinks I could finish high school
____ (4) I don't know what she thinks

60. Do you and your mother agree or disagree about how much ability you have for school work?
____ (1) We both think I can do well
____ (2) We both think I'm not very good at school work
____ (3) She thinks more of my ability than I do
____ (4) She thinks less of my ability than I do
____ (5) I don't know what she thinks of my ability

DO YOU THINK YOUR MOTHER WOULD BE SURPRISED:

61a. If you finished high school? (1) Yes____ (2) No____
61b. If you finished 2 years of college? (1) Yes____ (2) No____
61c. If you finished 4 years of college? (1) Yes____ (2) No____

62. How far does your mother want you to go in school? (Check one answer)
____ (1) Finish 10th grade
____ (2) Finish 11th grade
____ (3) Finish high school
____ (4) Finish high school and go to a school which is not a junior college to learn an occupation (like barber or electrician)
____ (5) Go to a junior college or university for a few years
____ (6) Finish 4 years of college or university
____ (7) Finish more than 4 years of college
____ (8) Other (What?)____
____ (0) I don't know how far she wants me to go

63. Do you think she would or would not be disappointed if you didn't go to college?
____ (1) Would not be disappointed
____ (2) Would be a little disappointed
____ (3) Would be pretty disappointed
____ (4) Would be very disappointed

64. Do you think she feels it is or is not important for you to go to college?
____ (1) Feels it is very important
____ (2) Pretty important
____ (3) Not very important
____ (4) Not at all important

65. Do you think it would or wouldn't bother her very much if you told her you did not want to go to college?
____ (1) Very sure it wouldn't bother her
____ (2) Pretty sure it wouldn't bother her
____ (3) Pretty sure it would bother her
____ (4) Very sure it would bother her

66. How sure are you she does or doesn't want you to go to college?
____ (1) Very sure she wants me to go
____ (2) Pretty sure she wants me to go
____ (3) Pretty sure she doesn't want me to go
____ (4) Very sure she doesn't want me to go

67. Has your mother ever said what occupation she would like you to go into?
____ (1) No, she has said nothing about it
____ (2) Yes, she would like for me to be a____________________________

68. Do you have any friends that your mother feels have a bad influence on your school work?
____ (1) One
____ (2) Two
____ (3) Three or more
____ (4) She doesn't think I have any friends like that

69. Do you have any friends that she feels have a good influence on your school work?
____ (1) One
____ (2) Two
____ (3) Three or more
____ (4) She doesn't think I have any friends like that

70. If it was up to your mother, which high school in this school district would she like you to be at?
____ (1) The school I'm at now
____ (2) Another school in this district. Which one?______________

ANSWER QUESTIONS 71, 72, 73, AND 74 ABOUT YOUR REAL MOTHER AND REAL FATHER IF YOU LIVE WITH THEM. IF NOT, ANSWER ABOUT THE WOMAN WHO TAKES YOUR MOTHER'S PLACE OR THE MAN WHO TAKES YOUR FATHER'S PLACE.

71. Is your mother satisfied or dissatisfied with the amount of money your father has made from what he has done for a living?
____ (1) Very dissatisfied
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied
____ (5) I don't know

72. Aside from the money, is your mother satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of work your father has done for a living?
____ (1) Very dissatisfied
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied
____ (5) I don't know

73. Is your mother satisfied or dissatisfied with how much education your father got?
____ (1) Very dissatisfied
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied
____ (5) I don't know

74. Have you ever heard your mother say that your father could have gotten further ahead if he had more education?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Three or four times
____ (3) Once or twice
____ (4) Never

75. Is your mother satisfied or dissatisfied with how much education she got?
____ (1) Very satisfied
____ (2) Pretty satisfied
____ (3) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (4) Very dissatisfied
____ (5) I don't know

MOTHER'S REASONS FOR WANTING OR NOT WANTING YOU TO GO TO COLLEGE

If you think your mother wants you to go to college, answer the questions in Box A below. If you think she doesn't want you to go, answer the questions in Box B. Be sure to answer either Box A or Box B, even if you're not very sure what your mother thinks about your going to college.

III 1-5

BOX A

If you think your mother wants you to go to college, what are her reasons for wanting you to go? For each reason given here, put an X under the YES if you think that's one of her reasons, and under the NO if it isn't.

(1) YES	(2) NO	
____	____	6. She thinks people will have a better opinion of me if I go to college.
____	____	7. She thinks I'll get a more interesting job if I go to college.
____	____	8. She wants me to be an educated person.
____	____	9. She thinks I can get a higher-paying job if I go to college.
____	____	10. She thinks my life will be more interesting if I go to college.
____	____	11. Does she have any other reason for wanting you to go?

If yes, write what it is: ____________________

12. WHICH REASON IS MOST IMPORTANT TO HER? IT IS NUMBER____

BOX B

If you think your mother doesn't want you to go to college, what are her reasons for not wanting you to go? For each reason given here, put an X under the YES if you think that's one of her reasons and under the NO if it isn't.

(1) YES	(2) NO	
____	____	13. She thinks I can get along without a college education.
____	____	14. She wants me to start making a living as soon as possible.
____	____	15. She doesn't think I have the ability for college.
____	____	16. She thinks she won't be able to afford to have me go.
____	____	17. She thinks I can get a good job without going to college.
____	____	18. Does she have any other reason for not wanting you to go?

If yes, write what it is: ____________________

19. WHICH REASON IS MOST IMPORTANT TO HER? IT IS NUMBER____

THANK YOU FOR FILLING THIS OUT. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE QUESTIONS, PLEASE USE THIS PAGE.

BOYS B

THIS IS THE LAST PART OF THE
STANFORD STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

1. THIS IS NOT A TEST OR EXAM.
2. Nobody in the school will see your answers.
3. Please do not talk.

HOW TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS

1. Read each question carefully.
2. Look at the different answers to each question.
3. Put an X beside the answer that fits you best.

Be sure to answer every question.

Dr. Paul Wallin
Mrs. Freda B. Wallin
Directors
Stanford Study of High School Students

(cut here)

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

PLEASE PRINT YOUR NAME HERE ______________________________.
We need your name because this survey is divided into different parts and we have to be able to put them together. This part of the page will be cut off in the Stanford Research Office and your form will have only a number on it.

WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW FAR YOU THINK YOU REALLY ARE GOING IN SCHOOL AND HOW SURE YOU ARE OF THIS. YOUR ANSWERS TO THE NEXT 6 QUESTIONS WILL TELL US THIS. BE SURE TO ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS.

III

20. Do you think you will graduate from high school?
____ (1) Very sure I will
____ (2) Pretty sure I will
____ (3) Pretty sure I won't
____ (4) Very sure I won't

21. After high school, do you think you will go to a school which is not a junior college to learn an occupation (like barber or electrician)?
____ (1) Very sure I will
____ (2) Pretty sure I will
____ (3) Pretty sure I won't
____ (4) Very sure I won't

22. Do you think you will go to college for at least 1 or 2 years? (To either a junior college or four year college or university)
____ (1) Very sure I will
____ (2) Pretty sure I will
____ (3) Pretty sure I won't
____ (4) Very sure I won't

23. Do you think you will finish 4 years of college or university?
____ (1) Very sure I will
____ (2) Pretty sure I will
____ (3) Pretty sure I won't
____ (4) Very sure I won't

24. Do you think you will finish more than 4 years of college or university?
____ (1) Very sure I will
____ (2) Pretty sure I will
____ (3) Pretty sure I won't
____ (4) Very sure I won't

25. When do you expect to go to college?
____ (1) I don't ever expect to go
____ (2) Right after I finish high school
____ (3) After finishing military service
____ (4) After working for a few years
____ (5) I may go sometime, but I don't know when

••

YOUR REASONS FOR GOING OR NOT GOING TO COLLEGE

If you think you are going to college, answer the questions in Box A below.

If you think you are not going to college, skip Box A and answer the questions in Box B on the next page.

If you're not sure about where you belong, decide if you mostly think you will or mostly think you won't go to college. Then answer either Box A or Box B.

BOX A

(Skip these questions and go to Box B if you think you're not going to college.)

If you think you are going to college, what are your reasons for wanting to go? For each reason given here put an X under the YES if that's one of your reasons and under the NO if it isn't.

(1) (2)

YES NO

____ ____ 26. I think going to college is better than going to work.

____ ____ 27. I need college for the kind of work I want to go into.

____ ____ 28. I think I can get a higher-paying job if I go to college.

____ ____ 29. I think I will get a more interesting job if I go to college.

____ ____ 30. I want to be an educated person.

____ ____ 31. I want to get away from home.

____ ____ 32. My parents would be unhappy if I didn't go to college.

____ ____ 33. I think being in college will be a lot of fun.

____ ____ 34. I think that college will give me more chance to develop my mind.

____ ____ 35. I think people will have a better opinion of me if I have a college education.

____ ____ 36. I think my life will be more interesting if I have a college education.

____ ____ 37. Most of my friends are going.

____ ____ 38. Do you have any other reason for going to college?

If yes, what is it?____

OF THE REASONS YOU GAVE FOR GOING TO COLLEGE, WHICH THREE ARE MOST IMPORTANT? GIVE THE NUMBERS WHICH ARE BESIDE THESE THREE REASONS.

THEY ARE: ______ ______ ______

39-40 41-42 43-44

BOX B

If you think you're not going to college, what are your reasons for not going? For each reason given here, put an X under the YES if that's one of your reasons and under the NO if it isn't.

(1) (2)

YES NO

____ ____ 45. I don't like school work enough.

____ ____ 46. I don't have the ability you need for college.

____ ____ 47. I think I won't be able to afford to go to college.

____ ____ 48. I want to start working as soon as possible.

____ ____ 49. I don't need college for the kind of work I want to do.

____ ____ 50. My parents don't want me to go.

____ ____ 51. My grades aren't good enough to get me into college.

____ ____ 52. Few or none of my friends are going.

____ ____ 53. I would rather go into military service.

____ ____ 54. I don't think it's worth the money that it costs.

____ ____ 55. I don't want to depend on my parents to support me after high school.

____ ____ 56. I don't think I'd enjoy going to college.

____ ____ 57. I have to start earning money after high school.

____ ____ 58. I'm tired of going to school.

____ ____ 59. Do you have any other reason for not going to college?

If yes, what is it?____

OF THE REASONS YOU GAVE FOR NOT GOING TO COLLEGE WHICH THREE ARE MOST IMPORTANT? GIVE THE NUMBERS WHICH ARE BESIDE THESE THREE REASONS.

THEY ARE: ______ ______ ______

60-61 62-63 64-65

DO YOU THINK ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONS HAD AN IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOUR IDEA ABOUT HOW FAR YOU ARE GOING TO TRY TO GO IN SCHOOL? PUT AN X UNDER YES OR NO FOR EACH PERSON.

(1) (2)

YES NO

____ ____ 66. Your father

____ ____ 67. Your mother

____ ____ 68. A sister or brother

____ ____ 69. Other relatives

____ ____ 70. Friends in school

(1) (2)

YES NO

____ ____ 71. Friends not in school

____ ____ 72. A teacher

____ ____ 73. A counselor

____ ____ 74. Another person

If yes, who?____________________

75. WHO INFLUENCED YOU MOST? ______________________________

YOUR IDEAS ABOUT YOUR FUTURE OCCUPATION

IV 1-5

6. Have you made up your mind about the kind of work or occupation you are going to try to be in most of your life?
____ (1) Yes, I'm very sure
____ (2) I'm pretty sure
____ (3) I'm not very sure
____ (4) Haven't made up my mind at all

7. If you have made up your mind, what is the work or occupation?
(1) It is: ____

(2) I haven't made up my mind______

8. How much education do you think is needed for the work or occupation you have chosen?
____ (1) High school graduation or less
____ (2) Training in a special school which is not a junior college
____ (3) Junior college (2 years of college)
____ (4) 4 years of college
____ (5) More than 4 years of college
____ (6) Have no idea how much is needed
____ (7) Have not chosen an occupation

We would like to know how you feel about different kinds of work that men do for a living. Look at the different jobs on this page. Tell for each one how you would feel making your living that way by putting an X in the column showing whether you would be very satisfied, pretty satisfied, or not satisfied.

	(1) Very Satisfied	(2) Pretty Satisfied	(3) Not Satisfied	
9.	____	____	____	Machine operator in a factory
10.	____	____	____	Clerk in a store
11.	____	____	____	Lawyer
12.	____	____	____	Bookkeeper
13.	____	____	____	Building contractor
14.	____	____	____	Salesman (like car or TV salesman)
15.	____	____	____	Skilled worker (like carpenter or electrician)
16.	____	____	____	Owner of a small business
17.	____	____	____	Foreman in a factory
18.	____	____	____	Truck driver
19.	____	____	____	Teacher in a high school
20.	____	____	____	Janitor
21.	____	____	____	Doctor
22.	____	____	____	Bus driver
23.	____	____	____	Owner of a large business

ABOUT YOUR FATHER OR THE MAN TAKING HIS PLACE

24a. Are you living with your real father?
____ (1) Yes ____ (2) No

24b. If you are not living with your real father, are you living with a man who takes his place?
____ (1) No
____ (2) Yes (Who is it?) ____
(stepfather, foster father, grandfather, uncle or who?)

Answer the questions on pages 5 to 13 about your real father if you live with him.

If you are not living with your real father, answer them about the man you live with who is taking his place.

If you don't live with your father or with a man who takes his place, skip to page 14.

25. How far did he go in school? (Check one answer)
____ (1) Grade 6 or less
____ (2) Grade 7, 8, or 9
____ (3) Finished grade 10 or 11
____ (4) Finished high school
____ (5) Went to a junior college or university 1, 2, or 3 years
____ (6) Finished 4 years of college
____ (7) Finished more than 4 years of college
____ (8) I don't know

26a. What is his work or job most of the time? Give the name of his job or occupation -- like carpenter, salesman in a store, owns a grocery store, doctor, office manager, lawyer, Army officer, and so on.

____

____ I don't know

26b. What kind of clothes does he wear at work?
____ (1) Regular clothes like shirt and tie, suit or sports jacket
____ (2) Work clothes that can get dirty on the job
____ (3) A kind of uniform that goes with his job
____ (4) I don't know

26c. What does he do in his occupation or job? Tell as well as you can what he does during an average work day -- like he repairs cars, he sells clothing in a store, he works at a machine in a factory, he treats sick people and so on.

____

____

____ I don't know what he does

26d. Most of the time does he work for himself (self-employed or has his own business) or for somebody else (a person or a business or an organization)?
____ (1) He works for himself or has his own business
____ (2) He is a partner in a business
____ (3) He works for somebody else
____ (4) I don't know what he does

26e. Does the place where he works have a name?
____ (1) No
____ (2) Yes. It is called ____________________

and is in the city of ____________________

26f. 1. If he works for himself (or has a partner), about how many people work for him? ____

2. If he works for somebody else, about how many people does he supervise? ____

27. Is your father satisfied or dissatisfied with the money he earns from his work or business?
____ (1) Very dissatsified
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied
____ (5) I don't know

28. Aside from the money, is your father satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of work he does?
____ (1) Very dissatisfied
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied
____ (5) I don't know

29. Would your father be satisfied or dissatisfied for you to do the kind of work he does?
____ (1) Very dissatisfied
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied
____ (5) I don't know

30. What is your father's religion?
____ (1) Protestant
____ (2) Catholic
____ (3) Jewish
____ (4) Other (What?)____________________

YOU AND YOUR FATHER

ANSWER ABOUT YOUR FATHER OR THE MAN TAKING HIS PLACE

31. How do you get along with your father most of the time?
____ (1) Get along very well
____ (2) Pretty well
____ (3) Not too well
____ (4) Poorly
____ (5) Very poorly

32. How often does he give you the feeling that he's proud of you?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Hardly ever
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Quite a few times
____ (5) Many times

33. Do you think he is or isn't satisfied with you just the way you are?
____ (1) Very sure he is satisfied
____ (2) Pretty sure he is satisfied
____ (3) Pretty sure he isn't satisfied
____ (4) Very sure he isn't satisfied

34. How often do you have disagreements with him?
____ (1) All the time
____ (2) Most of the time
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Almost never
____ (5) Never

35. How often does he say or do something which makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

36. Do you ever feel he expects you to be perfect in everything you do?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

37. How often does he say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

38. When something has to be decided between you and your father, how is it done most of the time?

____ (1) He just tells me what to do

____ (2) He listens to me but decides himself

____ (3) I have some chance to decide myself but he has the last say

____ (4) My opinions are as important as his in deciding what I should do

____ (5) I can decide for myself but he would like me to think about his opinion

____ (6) He lets me do what I want, no matter what his opinion is

____ (7) He doesn't care what I do

39. Does your father give you less or more freedom to decide things for yourself than he did two or three years ago?
____ (1) Much more freedom
____ (2) A little more
____ (3) About the same
____ (4) A little less freedom
____ (5) Much less

40. When you don't know why he decides something for you, or has some rules for you to follow, will he explain the reason?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once in a while
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Most times
____ (5) Always

41. In most things, does he like you to think things out for yourself or to go along with what he thinks?
____ (1) Likes me to go along with what he thinks
____ (2) Likes me to think things out for myself

42. How well do you think he understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age?
____ (1) He understands them very well
____ (2) Pretty well
____ (3) Not very well
____ (4) He doesn't understand at all

43. Is your father the kind of person that is easy or hard to talk to about most things that might be worrying or bothering you?
____ (1) Very hard to talk to
____ (2) Pretty hard
____ (3) Pretty easy
____ (4) Very easy to talk to

44. Do you think he does or doesn't want you to tell him when something is worrying or bothering you?
____ (1) Very sure he does
____ (2) Pretty sure he does
____ (3) Pretty sure he doesn't
____ (4) Very sure he doesn't

45. Most times when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel it will or won't help to talk to him about it?
____ (1) Very sure it won't help
____ (2) Pretty sure it won't help
____ (3) Pretty sure it will help
____ (4) Very sure it will help

46. Are you proud or not proud of your father?
____ (1) Not at all proud
____ (2) Not very proud
____ (3) Pretty proud
____ (4) Very proud

47. How much does it mean to you for your father to have a good opinion of you?
____ (1) It means a lot
____ (2) It means a fair amount
____ (3) It means a little
____ (4) I don't care what he thinks of me

48. Would you like to be the kind of person your father is?
____ (1) In every way
____ (2) In most ways
____ (3) In some ways
____ (4) In just a few ways
____ (5) Not at all

49. Would you be satisfied or dissatisfied to go as far in school as he did?
____ (1) Very dissatisfied
____ (2) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (3) Pretty satisfied
____ (4) Very satisfied

YOUR FATHER AND SCHOOL
ANSWER ABOUT YOUR FATHER OR THE MAN TAKING HIS PLACE

50. How much interest does your father have in how well you are doing with your school work?
____ (1) A lot
____ (2) Some
____ (3) A little
____ (4) Not particularly interested
____ (5) No interest at all

51. Has he ever said he wants you to get more education than he had?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) A few times
____ (3) Never

52. Has he ever said anything which shows he thinks it's important for you to go to college?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once
____ (3) A few times
____ (4) Many times

53. Has he ever said anything which shows he thinks college is not for you?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) A few times
____ (3) Once
____ (4) Never

54. When you get low grades in school does it or doesn't it bother him?
____ (1) Bothers him a lot
____ (2) Bothers him some
____ (3) Bothers him a little
____ (4) Doesn't bother him at all
____ (5) Never get low grades

55. Does he get after you to do well in your school work?
____ (1) Doesn't have to get after me to do well
____ (2) No, lets me do what I want about it
____ (3) Yes, gets after me but not hard
____ (4) Yes, gets after me quite a bit
____ (5) Yes, gets after me a lot

56. In his opinion, how far could you go in school if you tried your best?
____ (1) He thinks I could finish 4 or more years of college
____ (2) He thinks I could finish a couple of years of college
____ (3) He thinks I could finish high school
____ (4) I don't know what he thinks

57. Do you and your father agree or disagree about how much ability you have for school work?
____ (1) We both think I can do well
____ (2) We both think I'm not very good at school work
____ (3) He thinks more of my ability than I do
____ (4) He thinks less of my ability than I do
____ (5) I don't know what he thinks of my ability

DO YOU THINK YOUR FATHER WOULD BE SURPRISED:

58a. If you finished high school? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
58b. If you finished 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
58c. If you finished 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

59. How far does your father want you to go in school? (Check one answer)
____ (1) Finish 10th grade
____ (2) Finish 11th grade
____ (3) Finish high school
____ (4) Finish high school and go to a school which is not a junior college to learn an occupation (like barber or electrician)
____ (5) Go to a junior college or university for a few years
____ (6) Finish 4 years of college or university
____ (7) Finish more than 4 years of college
____ (8) Other (What?) ____________________
____ (0) I don't know how far he wants me to go

60. Do you think he would or would not be disappointed if you didn't go to college?
____ (1) Would not be disappointed
____ (2) Would be a little disappointed
____ (3) Would be pretty disappointed
____ (4) Would be very disappointed

61. Do you think he feels it is or is not important for you to go to college?
____ (1) Feels it is very important
____ (2) Pretty important
____ (3) Not very important
____ (4) Not at all important

62. Do you think it would or would not bother him very much if you told him you did not want to go to college?
____ (1) Very sure it wouldn't bother him
____ (2) Pretty sure it wouldn't bother him
____ (3) Pretty sure it would bother him
____ (4) Very sure it would bother him

63. How sure are you he does or doesn't want you to go to college?
____ (1) Very sure he wants me to go
____ (2) Pretty sure he wants me to go
____ (3) Pretty sure he doesn't want me to go
____ (4) Very sure he doesn't want me to go

64. Is your father satisfied or dissatisfied with how much education he got?

____ (1) Very satisfied
____ (2) Pretty satisfied
____ (3) Pretty dissatisfied
____ (4) Very dissatisfied
____ (5) I don't know

65. Have you ever heard your father say that he could have gotten further ahead if he had more education?

____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once or twice
____ (3) Three or four times
____ (4) Many times

DO YOU THINK THAT THE AMOUNT OF EDUCATION YOUR FATHER HAD MADE A DIFFERENCE IN HIS LIFE?

66. Did it make his life less or more interesting?

____ (1) Less
____ (2) More
____ (3) Made no difference

67. Did it make it easier or harder for him to make a living?

____ (1) Easier
____ (2) Harder
____ (3) Made no difference

68. Did he get more or less respect from people because of his education?

____ (1) More respect
____ (2) Less respect
____ (3) Made no difference

69. Has your father ever said what occupation he would like you to go into?

____ (1) No, he has said nothing about it
____ (2) Yes, he would like for me to be a ____________________

70. Do you have any friends that your father feels have a bad influence on your school work?

____ (1) One
____ (2) Two
____ (3) Three or more
____ (4) He doesn't think I have any friends like that

71. Do you have any friends that your father feels have a good influence on your school work?

____ (1) One
____ (2) Two
____ (3) Three or more
____ (4) He doesn't think I have any friends like that

72. If it was up to your father, which high school in this school district would he like you to be at?

____ (1) The school I'm at now
____ (2) Another school in this district. Which one? ____________

FATHER'S REASONS FOR WANTING OR NOT WANTING YOU TO GO TO COLLEGE

If you think your father wants you to go to college, answer the questions in Box A below. If you think he doesn't want you to go, answer the questions in Box B. Be sure to answer either Box A or Box B, even if you're not very sure what your father thinks about your going to college.

V 1-5

BOX A

If you think your father wants you to go to college, what are his reasons for wanting you to go? For each reason given here, put an X under the YES if you think that's one of his reasons, and under the NO if it isn't.

(1) (2)

YES NO

___ ___ 6. He thinks people will have a better opinion of me if I go to college.

___ ___ 7. He thinks I'll get a more interesting job if I go to college.

___ ___ 8. He wants me to be an educated person.

___ ___ 9. He thinks I can get a higher-paying job if I go to college.

___ ___ 10. He thinks my life will be more interesting if I go to college.

___ ___ 11. Does he have any other reason for wanting you to go?

If yes, write what it is: ______________________________

12. WHICH REASON IS MOST IMPORTANT TO HIM? IT IS NUMBER______

BOX B

If you think your father doesn't want you to go to college, what are his reasons for not wanting you to go? For each reason given here, put an X under the YES if you think that's one of his reasons, and under the NO if it isn't.

(1) (2)

YES NO

___ ___ 13. He thinks I can get along without a college education.

___ ___ 14. He wants me to start making a living as soon as possible.

___ ___ 15. He doesn't think I have the ability for college.

___ ___ 16. He thinks he won't be able to afford to have me go.

___ ___ 17. He thinks I can get a good job without going to college.

___ ___ 18. Does he have any other reason for not wanting you to go?

If yes, write what it is: ______________________________

19-20 WHICH REASON IS MOST IMPORTANT TO HIM? IT IS NUMBER______

ABOUT YOUR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS

21. In your opinion what do the teachers think of the ability of most of the 10th grade students in your school?
____ (1) That they have a lot of ability
____ (2) That they have a fair amount
____ (3) That they have little ability
____ (4) That they have very little ability

HAVE ANY OF YOUR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS GIVEN YOU THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE NOT GOOD ENOUGH AT SCHOOL WORK:

22a. To finish 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
22b. To finish 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

HAVE ANY OF YOUR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS GIVEN YOU THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE GOOD ENOUGH:

23a. To finish 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
23b. To finish 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

DO YOU THINK MOST OF YOUR TEACHERS WOULD BE SURPRISED:

24a. If you finished high school? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
24b. If you finished 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
24c. If you finished 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

HAS A COUNSELOR EVER GIVEN YOU THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE NOT GOOD ENOUGH AT SCHOOL WORK:

25a. To finish 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
25b. To finish 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

HAS A COUNSELOR EVER GIVEN YOU THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE GOOD ENOUGH:

26a. To finish 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
26b. To finish 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

DO YOU THINK YOUR COUNSELOR WOULD BE SURPRISED:

27a. If you finished high school? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
27b. If you finished 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
27c. If you finished 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

28. Do you feel your teachers treat you fairly?
____ (1) All of them do
____ (2) Most of them do
____ (3) Some of them do
____ (4) None of them do

29. Do you think most of your teachers like you?
____ (1) Very sure most don't
____ (2) Pretty sure most don't
____ (3) Pretty sure most do
____ (4) Very sure most do

30. How well do you think most of your teachers understand your feelings?
____ (1) Very well
____ (2) Pretty well
____ (3) Not very well
____ (4) Not at all

31. How often does a teacher say or do something that makes you feel angry?
____ (1) Many times
____ (2) Quite a few times
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT HIGH SCHOOL

32. Do you ever feel you hate school?
____ (1) Always
____ (2) Most of the time
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

33. Do you have a good time at school?
____ (1) Always
____ (2) Most of the time
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

34. Do you ever wish you never had to go to school?
____ (1) Always
____ (2) Most of the time
____ (3) Sometimes
____ (4) Hardly ever
____ (5) Never

35. Are there things about school you like very much?
____ (1) I like everything about it
____ (2) I like most things
____ (3) I like some things
____ (4) I like a few things
____ (5) There's hardly anything about school I like very much

36. Have you cut school this year with other kids?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once
____ (3) Twice
____ (4) Three or more times

37. Have you been sent out of class this year for disciplinary reasons?
____ (1) Never
____ (2) Once
____ (3) Twice
____ (4) Three or more times

38. Have you been suspended from school this year?
____ (1) Five times or more
____ (2) Three or four times
____ (3) Once or twice
____ (4) Never

ABOUT THE BOYS IN THE 10th GRADE

39. How many of the boys in the 10th grade at this school do you think will graduate from high school?
____ (1) A few
____ (2) About a third
____ (3) About half
____ (4) Most
____ (5) All

40. How many do you think will finish 2 years of college?
____ (1) A few
____ (2) About a third
____ (3) About half
____ (4) Most
____ (5) All

41. How many do you think will finish 4 years of college?
____ (1) A few
____ (2) About a third
____ (3) About half
____ (4) Most
____ (5) All

42. As far as you can tell do the boys in the 10th grade feel it is or is not important to get good grades (A's or B's)?
____ (1) They feel it's very important
____ (2) Pretty important
____ (3) Not very important
____ (4) Not at all important

WOULD MOST OF THE BOYS YOU KNOW BE SURPRISED:

43a. If you finished high school? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
43b. If you finished 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
43c. If you finished 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

WOULD YOU BE SURPRISED:

44a. If you finished high school? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
44b. If you finished 2 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____
44c. If you finished 4 years of college? (1) Yes ____ (2) No ____

45. Is it easier to be a good student at this school than at any other high school in this district?
____ (1) No easier than at any other school in this district
____ (2) Easier than at some schools. Why? ____________________
____

46. Is it harder to be a good student at this school than at any other high school in this district?
____ (1) No harder than at any other school in this district
____ (2) Harder than at some schools. Why? ____________________
____

A. What two boys in the 10th grade in this school do you think are among the most popular? Print their names.

1. ____
First name Last name

2. ____
First name Last name

B. What two boys in the 10th grade in this school are your two closest friends? Print their names.

1. ____
First name Last name

2. ____
First name Last name

C. If you could choose, what two boys in the 10th grade in this school would you pick as your best friends? Print their names.

1. ____
First name Last name

2. ____
First name Last name

ABOUT YOUR TWO BEST FRIENDS IN THE 10th GRADE IN THIS SCHOOL

47. Do these boys feel it's important or not important to get good grades (A's or B's)?

____ (1) Both feel it's important
____ (2) One of them feels it's important
____ (3) Neither one feels it's important

48. Do they get good grades (mostly A's and B's)?

____ (1) Neither one does
____ (2) One of them does
____ (3) Both of them do

49. Do you think they will graduate from high school?

____ (1) Both will
____ (2) One will
____ (3) Neither will

50. Do you think they will finish 2 years of college?

____ (1) Neither will
____ (2) One will
____ (3) Both will

51. Do you think they will finish 4 years of college?

____ (1) Both will
____ (2) One will
____ (3) Neither will

52. How close are you to these boys?

____ (1) Am very close to both
____ (2) Am very close to one
____ (3) Am not very close to either one

53. Has knowing these boys made you less or more interested in doing well in your school work?

____ (1) Both made me more interested
____ (2) Both made me less interested
____ (3) One made me more interested
____ (4) One made me less interested
____ (5) Knowing them didn't make any difference in my interest

THANK YOU FOR FILLING THIS OUT. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE QUESTIONS, PLEASE USE THIS PAGE.

____________ Interview With: ____1. Mother ____2. Father

1. To begin with, you're _________________ (Boy's Name) ____________________ (Resp. Relation to Boy)?

____1. Father (Mother)
____2. Step-Father (Step-Mother)
____3. Grandfather (Grandmother)
____4. Uncle (Aunt)
____5. Other Relative (Which? ____________________________________)
____6. Non-relative (Which? ____________________________________)

---

2. How many children are there in your family (counting ________ (Boy) and any step and half-brothers or sisters he may have)?

INTERVIEWER: THIS SHOULD INCLUDE THOSE LIVING AWAY FROM HOME.

_________ Total Number

---

3. Is ___________ (Boy) the:

____1. Oldest
____2. Youngest
____3. A middle child
____4. An only child

---

4. About how long has your family been living in this house?

____1. Less than a year
____2. Between 1 and 2 years
____3. Between 2 and 3 years
____4. Three to five years
____5. Five to seven years
____6. Eight to ten years
____7. More than ten years

---

5. How do you happen to be living in this neighborhood?

____

____

____

____

____

____

INTERVIEWER: FOLLOWING REASON OR REASONS GIVEN ASK:

6. Any other reason?

____

____

7. Before moving to this neighborhood had you heard anything about the schools in the neighborhood?

____1. No ____ Yes

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "YES" ASK:

8. Had you heard they were "good" or "bad"?

____2. Good ____3. Bad

____

INTERVIEWER: IF PARENT HEARD THAT SCHOOLS WERE EITHER "GOOD" OR "BAD" ASK:

9. In what way?

____

____

____

____

____

____

10. Do you own or rent your house?

____1. Own ____2. Rent

____

11. Does your son have his own room or does he share it with someone else?

____1. Has own room ____2. Shares it

____

Now I'd like to ask you some questions to get your opinion of ______ ability for school work.

12. By now you must have a pretty good idea of how good ______ is at school work. So let me ask you: How far do you think ______ could go in school if he really wanted to and tried his best? Would you say:

INTERVIEWER: STOP READING THESE QUESTIONS (a-e) AT THE POINT WHERE ONE IS ANSWERED "NO."

Yes	No	
____	____	a. He could finish high school?
____	____	b. He could finish junior college (2 years of college)?
____	____	c. He could finish 4 years of a college like San Francisco State or San Jose State?
____	____	d. He could finish 4 years of university at Stanford or Berkeley?
____	____	e. He could finish more than 4 years of college?

____

____

13. How sure are you he could finish ____________________?

INTERVIEWER: COMPLETE Q. 13 BY ADDING TO THE SENTENCE THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION TO WHICH PARENT ANSWERED "YES". THEN ASK:

14. Would you say you are:

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL 3 ANSWERS

____1. Very sure ____2. Pretty sure ____3. Not very sure

____

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about your son's school work.

15. Do you or don't you get after him to do well in his school work?

____1. (No) Don't have to get after him to do well
____2. (No) Let him do what he wants about it
____3. (Yes) Get after him but not hard
____4. (Yes) Get after him quite a bit
____5. (Yes) Get after him a lot
Other ____

____

____

____

____

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER TO Q. 15 IS "YES", ASK:

16. How do you try to get him to do well?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

17. Do you think _______ does or doesn't try to get good grades in most of his subjects?

____1. (No) He doesn't try at all
____2. (Yes) He tries a little
____3. (Yes) He tries pretty hard
____4. (Yes) He tries very hard
____5. He gets good grades without trying very hard
____0. Don't know

____

____

18. As far as you know, what grades did he get last year -- in his second year of high school?

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL ANSWERS

____1. All A's
____2. Mostly A's
____3. B's
____4. C's
____5. Lower than C's
____6. Or don't you really know?

19. What grades do you think he could have gotten if he had tried his best? Do you think he could have gotten:

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL ANSWERS. IF THE ANSWER IS "HE DID TRY HIS BEST" CHECK THE SAME RESPONSE CATEGORY AS ON PREVIOUS QUESTION.

____1. All A's
____2. Mostly A's
____3. B's
____4. C's
____5. Lower than C's
____6. Or don't you really know?

INTERVIEWER: IF THE ANSWER TO THE TWO PRECEDING QUESTIONS INDICATES PARENT'S BELIEF THAT THE BOY COULD HAVE GOTTEN BETTER GRADES IF HE HAD TRIED HIS BEST ASK:

20. Why do you think he didn't try his best?

21. Do you have any idea what grades a student needs to get into a junior college like (GIVE NAME OF JR. COLLEGE IN BOY'S DISTRICT)? Would you say he needs:

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL ANSWERS

____1. An A average

____2. B average

____3. C average

____4. Any average as long as he has a high school diploma

____5. Or don't you really know?

---

22. What about a university like Berkeley? What average do you think a student needs to get in there?

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL ANSWERS

____1. An A average

____2. B average

____3. C average

____4. Any average as long as he has a high school diploma

____5. Or don't you really know?

---

23. What about a university like Stanford? What average does a student need to get in there?

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL ANSWERS

____1. An A average

____2. B average

____3. C average

____4. Any average as long as he has a high school diploma

____5. Or don't you really know?

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about how much you think it costs to go to college:

24. First, do you have any idea how much a student has to pay to go to a junior college for a year? How much do you think it costs for everything except room and board?

____1. Under $100

____2. Between $100 and $200

____3. Between $200 and $400

____4. Between $400 and $500

____5. Between $500 and $1000

____6. Between $1000 and $1500

____7. Over $1500

____0. Don't know

25. What about a university like Berkeley? Again, for everything except room and board, how much do you think a student has to pay to go there for a year?

____1. Under $100
____2. Between $100 and $200
____3. Between $200 and $400
____4. Between $400 and $500
____5. Between $500 and $1000
____6. Between $1000 and $1500
____7. Over $1500
____0. Don't know

26. What about a university like Stanford? For everything except room and board, how much do you think a student has to pay there for a year?

____1. Under $100
____2. Between $100 and $200
____3. Between $200 and $400
____4. Between $400 and $500
____5. Between $500 and $1000
____6. Between $1000 and $1500
____7. Over $1500
____0. Don't know

> Now as you know some boys who want to go to college can afford it with their family's help. But some can't because they have to make a living after high school or they have to help their family. What about ______?

INTERVIEWER: STOP READING THESE QUESTIONS (27-30) AT THE POINT WHERE ONE IS ANSWERED "NO."

	Yes	No	
27.	____	____	If he were living at home do you think that with the family's help he could afford to go to a junior college for 2 years?
28.	____	____	If he were living at home could he afford to go 4 years to a state college, like San Jose or San Francisco?
29.	____	____	If he had to pay board and room, could he afford to go 4 years to a state university like Berkeley?
30.	____	____	If he had to pay board and room could he afford to go 4 years to a private university, like Stanford?

31. How sure are you he could afford ____________?

INTERVIEWER: COMPLETE Q. 31 BY ADDING TO THE SENTENCE THE HIGHEST LEVEL WHICH PARENT ANSWERED "YES" AND THEN ASK:

32. Would you say you are: (INTERVIEWER: READ 3 ANSWERS)

____1. Very sure ____2. Pretty sure ____3. Not very sure

____

33. If a person doesn't have the money to go to college, would you say that means he can't go?

____1. Yes ____No, it doesn't ____0. Don't know

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER TO Q. 33 IS "NO" ASK:

34. How can he do it if he doesn't have the money? (AFTER FIRST EXPLANATION ASK IF THERE IS ANY OTHER WAY.)

____

____

____

____

____

____

35. If there was nothing to stop __________ from going as far as he wanted how far do you think he would really want to go in school?

INTERVIEWER: BE SURE PARENT'S ANSWER IF IT INDICATES "COLLEGE" IS FOLLOWED BY A PROBE TO MAKE SURE WE KNOW WHETHER IT'S A TRADE SCHOOL, JUNIOR COLLEGE, OR 4 OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE.

____1. Finish more than 4 years of college
____2. Finish 4 years of college or university
____3. Go to a junior college or university for a couple of years
____4. Finish high school and go to a school to learn a trade
____5. Finish high school
____6. Stop as soon as he can
____ Other (What) ______________________________

36. How sure are you that this is as far as he would want to go, if there was nothing to stop him from going further?

INTERVIEWER: READ 3 ANSWERS

____1. Very sure ____2. Pretty sure ____3. Not very sure

____

37. What makes you think that's how far he'd want to go in school?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

So far I've asked about how much schooling ________ wants. Now I'd like to ask about how much schooling you want him to get.

38. How far do you want him to go in school?

INTERVIEWER" IF ANSWER IS CATEGORY 4 ASK "WHAT SCHOOL" TO DISTINGUISH TRADE SCHOOL FROM JUNIOR COLLEGE.

____6. Stop as soon as he can
____5. Finish high school
____4. Finish high school and go to a school to learn a trade
____3. Go to a junior college or university for a few years
____2. Finish 4 years of college or university
____1. Finish more than 4 years of college
____ Other (What)? ________________________________

____

____

____

____

39. Now -- thinking about how much education you would like him to have, would you or wouldn't you be disappointed if he didn't ____________?
(parental goal indicated in q.38)

____1. (Yes) Would be very disappointed

____2. (Yes) Would be pretty disappointed

____3. (Yes) Would be a little disappointed

____4. (No) Would not be disappointed

INTERVIEWER: SOME OF THE NEXT 5 PAGES ARE ASKED OR SKIPPED DEPENDING ON HOW FAR PARENT WANTS BOY TO GO IN SCHOOL (AS INDICATED BY PARENT'S ANSWER TO Q. 38).

IF WANTS SOME COLLEGE FOR BOY: ASK PAGES 11 to 13.

IF WANTS JUNIOR COLLEGE (OR A FEW YEARS) ONLY: ADD PAGE 14.

IF WANTS NO COLLEGE: SKIP PAGES ON COLLEGE AND ASK ONLY PAGE 15.

THIS PAGE FOR PARENTS WHO WANT ANY COLLEGE FOR BOY

REASONS FOR ANY COLLEGE

> Parents have different reasons for wanting their sons to go to college. I'd like to ask you what your reasons are for wanting your son to go to college. Would you say it's because:

INTERVIEWER: REPEAT "WOULD YOU SAY IT'S BECAUSE" WITH EACH REASON AND GET AN ANSWER TO EACH REASON BEFORE GOING ON TO THE NEXT.

	(1) YES	(2) NO	
40.	____	____	You think people will respect him more -- have a better opinion of him -- if he goes to college.
41.	____	____	You think he'll get a more interesting job if he goes to college.
42.	____	____	He'll have more security if he goes to college.
43.	____	____	You think he can get a higher-paying job if he goes to college.
44.	____	____	It will keep him from being drafted.
45.	____	____	Is there any other reason you want him to go?

____

____

____

____

____

46. Now I'd like to ask you which one reason you think of as most important. The reasons you gave were: (REASONS GIVEN BY PARENT TO BE REREAD INCLUDING THOSE GIVEN BY THE PARENT AS OTHER REASONS). Of these reasons which do you think is the most important?

Most important reason is: ____________________

____

____

____

____

THIS PAGE FOR PARENTS WHO WANT ANY COLLEGE FOR BOY

47. If _______ could make as much money for most of his life without going to college as by going to college, would you still want him to go or not to go?

____1. (Yes) Very sure would	____3. (No) Pretty sure wouldn't
____2. (Yes) Pretty sure would	____4. (No) Very sure wouldn't

____0. Don't know

INTERVIEWER. WHATEVER PARENT ANSWERS TO Q 47 ASK:

48. Why would you (or wouldn't you) still want him to go to college?

49. Can you remember when you first decided you wanted _______ to go to college?

____1. Can't remember when because always thought he would go
____2. In the early grades, before junior high school
____3. In junior high school
____4. In high school, in the last few years

THIS PAGE FOR PARENTS WHO WANT ANY COLLEGE FOR BOY

50. Did you ever think that for some reason your son might not be able to go to college?

____1. No ____ Yes

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "YES," ASK:

51. For what reason?

____2. Could not afford it
____3. Could not get the grades
____ Other? ____

____

____

____

____

INTERVIEWER: WHATEVER THE REASON GIVEN IN Q. 51 ASK:

52. Did you do anything about it or are you doing anything about it?

____

____

____

____

____

____

INTERVIEWER: NOW TURN TO P. 16 UNLESS PARENT INDICATED A DESIRE FOR SON TO GO TO COLLEGE FOR LESS THAN 4 YEARS. IF PARENT INDICATED DESIRE FOR JUNIOR COLLEGE OR ONLY A FEW YEARS OF UNIVERSITY, ASK QUESTIONS ON NEXT PAGE AND THEN SKIP TO P. 16.

THIS PAGE FOR PARENTS WHO WANT JUNIOR COLLEGE (OR A FEW YEARS OF COLLEGE) FOR BOY

REASONS FOR JR. COLLEGE OR A FEW YEARS COLLEGE

You said that you want your son to go to junior college (or university) for two years and you gave me your reasons for wanting him to go. Could you tell me now why you don't want him to go to college or university for four years or even more. Would you say it's because:

INTERVIEWER: REPEAT "WOULD YOU SAY IT'S BECAUSE" WITH EACH REASON AND GET ANSWERS TO EACH REASON BEFORE GOING ON TO THE NEXT.

	(1) YES	(2) NO	
53.	____	____	You think he can get a good job with a junior college education (or a few years of college)?
54.	____	____	You don't think you could afford for him to go more than 2 years?
55.	____	____	You think it would be too hard for him to get the grades to finish 4 years of college?
56.	____	____	You don't think he'd like being in college 4 years?
57.	____	____	Do you have any other reason for not wanting him to go to college for 4 years? ____________________

____

____

____

58. Now I'd like to ask you which one reason is most important for your not wanting your son to go to college for four years. The reasons you gave were: (INTERVIEWER: READ REASONS GIVEN BY PARENT INCLUDING THOSE GIVEN BY THE PARENT AS OTHER REASON). Of these reasons which do you think is most important?

Most important reason is: ____________________________

____

____

INTERVIEWER: NOW TURN TO P. 16.

THIS PAGE FOR PARENTS WHO WANT NO COLLEGE FOR BOY

REASONS FOR NOT WANTING ANY COLLEGE

Parents have different reasons for not wanting their sons to go to college. I'd like to ask you what your reasons are for not wanting your son to go to college. Would you say it's because:

INTERVIEWER: REPEAT "WOULD YOU SAY IT'S BECAUSE" WITH EACH REASON

	(1) YES	(2) NO	
59.	____	____	You think he can get along without a college education
60.	____	____	You want him to start making a living as soon as possible.
61.	____	____	You don't think he has the ability for college.
62.	____	____	You think you won't be able to afford to have him go.
63.	____	____	You think he can get a good job without going to college.
64.	____	____	He doesn't want to go to college.
65.	____	____	Do you have any other reason for not wanting him to go?

____

____

____

____

____

66. Now I'd like to ask you which one reason you think of as most important. The reasons you gave were: (INTERVIEWER: READ REASONS GIVEN BY PARENT INCLUDING THOSE GIVEN BY PARENT AS OTHER REASON). Of these reasons which would you say is most important?

Most important reason is: ____________________________

____

QUESTIONS FOR ALL FATHERS AND MOTHERS START AGAIN HERE

67. Now I'd like to ask you about your ideas for ______ future occupation. What kind of job or work would you like him to have?

INTERVIEWER: IF OCCUPATION IS INDICATED TRY TO GET IT IDENTIFIED AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE AND WRITE THIS IN ON THE NEXT FIVE LINES. ANY OTHER ANSWER IS ALSO TO BE WRITTEN IN.

____

____

____

____

____

68. Why would you like him to be doing this kind of work?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

69. Right now does ________ have any idea what kind of work he'd like to go into?

____1. No ____ Yes

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "YES" TRY TO IDENTIFY THE WORK AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE.

____

____

____

Now I'd like to ask you about different kinds of jobs people have and I'd like you to tell me how you would feel about your son making a living that way. I'll read the name of each job. Will you tell me then if you would be very satisfied, pretty satisfied, or not satisfied for your son to make his living that way.

INTERVIEWER: REPEAT FOR THE FIRST 3 OR SO OCCUPATIONS: "WOULD YOU BE VERY SATISFIED, PRETTY SATISFIED, OR NOT SATISFIED FOR HIM TO MAKE HIS LIVING AS A ...."

	(1) Very Satisfied	(2) Pretty Satisfied	(3) Not Satisfied	
70.	____	____	____	Machine operator in a factory
71.	____	____	____	Clerk in a store
72.	____	____	____	Lawyer
73.	____	____	____	Bookkeeper
74.	____	____	____	Building contractor
75.	____	____	____	Salesman (like car or TV salesman)
76.	____	____	____	Skilled worker (like carpenter or electrician)
77.	____	____	____	Owner of a small business
78.	____	____	____	Foreman in a factory
79.	____	____	____	Truck driver
80.	____	____	____	Teacher in a high school
81.	____	____	____	Doctor
82.	____	____	____	Bus driver
83.	____	____	____	Owner of a large business

---

84. Which ONE of these occupations would you be most satisfied for your son to be in? Let me read you those you said you would be satisfied with.

INTERVIEWER: IF PARENT INDICATED NO OCCUPATION WITH WHICH HE (SHE) WOULD BE "VERY SATISFIED" READ THOSE RESPONDED TO AS "PRETTY SATISFIED."

Occupation Parent Most Satisfied With ____________________________

____

____

85. Up until now I've asked how far your son could go in school if he really wanted to, and how far he would like to go and so on. Now thinking about all of these things I'd like to know how far you think he's really going. For instance, would you be surprised:

INTERVIEWER: REPEAT "WOULD YOU BE SURPRISED" WITH EACH QUESTION AND STOP AT THE FIRST ONE TO WHICH PARENT ANSWERS "YES."

YES	NO	
____	____	a. If your son finished high school?
____	____	b. If he finished two years of college?
____	____	c. If he finished 4 years of college?
____	____	d. If he finished more than 4 years of college?

____

____

One of the things we're interested in finding out in this study is what parents think about the school their children go to. So I'm going to ask some questions about that now. First let me ask:

86. How far do you think most of the boys at ______________ (Boy's School) will go in school?

Do you think more than half of them will finish:

INTERVIEWER: REPEAT " DO YOU THINK MORE THAN HALF OF THEM WILL FINISH" FOR EACH OF THE 4 LEVELS BUT END THE QUESTION AT THE FIRST ONE TO WHICH THE PARENT ANSWERS "NO."

YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	
____	____	____	a. High school?
____	____	____	b. Junior college (or at least 2 years of college)?
____	____	____	c. Four years of college?
____	____	____	d. More than 4 years of college?

____

87. Are there any boys at ______________ that you think made ________ more interested in school?

INTERVIEWER: IF "YES" ASK:

88. How many?

____1. None

____2. One

____3. Two

____4. Three or more

____0. Don't know

INTERVIEWER: IF ANY BOYS MADE HIM MORE INTERESTED ASK:

89. Could you tell me how this happened?

____

____

____

____

____

____

90. Are there any that you think made him less interested in school?

INTERVIEWER: IF "YES" ASK:

91. How many?

____1. None

____2. One

____3. Two

____4. Three or more

____0. Don't know

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANY BOYS MADE HIM LESS INTERESTED ASK:

92. Could you tell me how this happened?

____

____

____

____

____

____

93. What about his teachers? Are there any that you think made him more interested in school?

INTERVIEWER: IF ANY TEACHERS MADE HIM MORE INTERESTED ASK:

94. How many?

____1. None

____2. One

____3. Two

____4. Three or more

____0. Don't know

INTERVIEWER: IF ANY TEACHERS MADE HIM MORE INTERESTED ASK:

95. Could you tell me how this happened?

____

____

____

____

____

____

96. What about a school counselor? Has any counselor made him more interested in school?

____1. No ____2. Yes ____0. Don't know

INTERVIEWER: IF A COUNSELOR MADE HIM MORE INTERESTED ASK:

97. Could you tell me how this happened?

____

____

____

____

98. Thinking of how good he is at school work, do you and ________ have the same idea about how far he can go in school?

____1. Yes ____ No

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "NO," ASK:

99. What's the difference between what you think and what he thinks?

____

____

____

____

____

100. Do you and his teachers or counselor have the same idea about how far he can go in school?

____1. Yes ____ No ____0. Don't know what they think

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "NO," ASK:

101. What's the difference between what you think and what they think?

____

____

____

____

____

____

102. If ________ could change to another high school in this District, would you or wouldn't you want him to do it?

____ Yes ____1. No ____2. Wouldn't care either way

____

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "YES," ASK:

103. Why would you want him to change?

____

____

____

____

____

____

Now to change the subject a little

104. With the war going on in Vietnam, and your having a boy your son's age, have you thought about the chances of his being drafted?

____1. No ____2. Yes

105. When your son is old enough for military service, would you want him to go into the service?

____ No　____ Yes　____ Not sure

____

106. What's your reason for saying that? (REPEATING PARENT'S ANSWER TO Q. 105)

____

____

____

____

____

____

THIS PAGE FOR MOTHER ONLY

Now a few different questions about your home.

107. Does your family get a daily newspaper?

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "YES," ASK:

108. Does the family get one or two?

____1. No
____2. Yes, one
____3. Yes, two or more

---

109. Does your family get any magazines regularly?

INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER IS "YES," ASK:

110. How many does it get?

____ None
____ Write in number received

---

111. Is there an encyclopedia set in your home?

____1. Yes
____2. No

---

112. About how many books would you guess there are in your home? Would you say there are:

INTERVIEWER: READ ALL ANSWERS

____1. Less than 25
____2. 25 to 50
____3. 50 to 100
____4. 100 to 200
____5. 200 or more

Now a few questions about your own education and the work you do.

113. How far did you go in school?

____1. Finished more than 4 years of college
____2. Finished 4 years of college
____3. Went to a junior college or university 1, 2, or 3 years
____4. Finished high school
____5. Finished grade 10 or 11
____6. Grade 7, 8, or 9
____7. Grade 6 or less

THIS PAGE FOR MOTHER ONLY

114. Do you have a paid job outside the home?

____1. (Yes) Part time

____2. (Yes) Full time

____3. (Yes) Only in summer

____4. (No) Don't work outside the home

INTERVIEWER: IF MOTHER WORKS, ASK HER FOR PURPOSES OF BEING ABLE TO CLASSIFY HER WORK PRECISELY:

115. What kind of work do you do?

Now I'd like to get some idea of how you feel about your husband's work.

116. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of living your husband has been able to make from his work or business?

____1. Very dissatisfied

____2. Pretty dissatisfied

____3. Pretty satisfied

____4. Very satisfied

117. Aside from the money, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of work your husband has done for a living?

____1. Very dissatisfied

____2. Pretty dissatisfied

____3. Pretty satisfied

____4. Very satisfied

118. Would you like your son to have as much or more education than your husband had?

____1. As much as he did

____2. More than he had

THIS PAGE FOR MOTHER ONLY

119. Could you tell me why that's what you would like for him?

And now the last question

120. What would you say had the most to do with how ________ feels about school?

Now a few questions about your own education and the work you do.

121. How far did you go in school?

____1. Finished more than 4 years of college

____2. Finished 4 years of college

____3. Went to a junior college or university 1, 2, 3 years

____4. Finished high school

____5. Finished grade 10 or 11

____6. Grade 7, 8, or 9

____7. Grade 6 or less

____

____

122. What is your regular work or occupation?

INTERVIEWER: THIS IS AN IMPORTANT PIECE OF INFORMATION. IT MUST BE COMPLETE ENOUGH TO PERMIT A PRECISE CLASSIFICATION OF THE OCCUPATION. IF FATHER IS RETIRED OR UNEMPLOYED ASK: When you worked what kind of work did you do?

____

____

(Name or title of work or occupation, e.g. machinist, t.v. salesman, electronics worker.)

____

INTERVIEWER: IF NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION DOESN'T MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR WHAT THE OCCUPATION IS, ASK QUESTION 123. IF IT IS CLEAR (E.G. DOCTOR, CARPENTER) SKIP TO Q. 124.

123. Could you tell me what you do on your job or in connection with your work?

____

____

____

124. Do you work for yourself (or with a partner) or do you work for somebody else?

____ for self ____ with a partner ____ for somebody else

INTERVIEWER: IF HE WORKS FOR HIMSELF OR WITH A PARTNER ASK:

125. Do you work alone or do you have anyone working for you?

____ Works alone or only with partner

About ______ persons work for him
Number

THIS PAGE FOR FATHER ONLY

INTERVIEWER: IF HE WORKS FOR SOMEBODY ELSE, ASK:

126. Do you supervise any people?

____ No ____ Yes, about ______ persons

127. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of living you have been able to make from your work (or business)?

____1. Very dissatisfied
____2. Pretty dissatisfied
____3. Pretty satisfied
____4. Very satisfied

____

____

128. Aside from the money, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the kind of work you have done for a living?

____1. Very dissatisfied
____2. Pretty dissatisfied
____3. Pretty satisfied
____4. Very satisfied

____

____

129. Would you like your son to have as much education as you had or more education than you had?

____1. As much as you did
____2. More than you did

____

____

130. Could you tell me why that's what you would like for him?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

And now the last question

131. What would you say had the most to do with how ________ feels about school?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

INTERVIEWERS COMMENTS ON INTERVIEW

Interview conducted in: ____ English ____ Spanish ____ Mostly Spanish

Where was interview conducted?

____ Living room

____ Dining room (kitchen)

____ Bedroom

____ Other (Specify) ____________________

Who else was present in interview room?

____ No one else

____ Other adult or adults

____ A child or children

If others present, for how long and did it affect answers?

____

____

____

Understanding of questions:

____ Excellent

____ Good

____ Fair

____ Poor

Parent's Attitude

____ Cooperative (interested)

____ Cooperative (not interested)

____ Suspicious

____ Belligerent

____ Other (Specify) __________

____

On the whole, how frank do you think parent was?

____ Very truthful

____ Fairly truthful

____ Not truthful

____ Sometimes yes, sometimes no

Any other comments or insights about the interview? (Use back of page if needed)

____

____

____

____

____

____

To Tenth-Grade Counselor:

In connection with our study of the educational aspirations of 10th grade boys and girls of eight high schools (the six of the Sequoia School District and two others) we would like to have the counselors' view of their students. For this purpose we would appreciate your evaluation of the students you counsel in terms of three questions:

1. On the basis of academic ability alone, what would be your estimate of how far the student could go in school if adequately motivated? This is strictly your estimate of the student's ability.

2. To the best of your knowledge, how far does the student really want to go to school? This is your estimate of the student's educational goal.

3. How far do you think the student actually will go in school? This is your prediction of the student's most likely level of educational attainment.

The three questions are to be answered with the code numbers attached to the following grade levels:

1. Not finish high school.
2. Finish high school.
3. Finish 1 or 2 years of junior college or of a 4-year college.
4. Finish 4 years at a college like San Francisco State or San Jose State.
5. Finish 4 or more years at a university like Stanford or the University of California at Berkeley.

We also would appreciate your indicating in the third column whether the student is white (W), Negro (N), Oriental (O), or of Mexican parentage (M). If in any case you don't know, indicate this with a question mark. Examples are shown below.

Student's Name	Origin	Ability	Present Goal	Final Achievement
Jim Anderson	W	1	1	1
Bill Barnes	N	4	3	3
John Doe	?	5	5	5

Counselors' estimates on these three questions will be converted into IBM code numbers for machine processing. All information will be treated statistically and there will be no identification of counselors or students.

Thank you for your cooperation. We would appreciate your returning your forms by the end of May. A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Paul Wallin
Freda B. Wallin
Directors
Stanford Study of High School Students

TO TEACHERS ADMINISTERING QUESTIONNAIRES

FOR STANFORD STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

I. There are two questionnaires in this study. These are to be filled out by all 10th grade boys and girls on two successive days. The questionnaire to be filled out on the first day is the A form, indicated by an A in the upper right hand corner of the cover page. The form for the second day is identified as the B form on the cover page.

II. Note that there are different forms for boys and girls. Those for boys are white; those for girls are yellow.

III. Administering the Questionnaires

A. WHEN ADMINISTERING FORM A OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE read the statement in Box A on the next page to the class BEFORE passing out the forms. When administering FORM A do not tell students they will be filling out a second form.

B. WHEN ADMINISTERING FORM B read the statement in Box B (page 3) to the class BEFORE passing out the forms.

C. While the class is filling out the forms, please list on the accompanying sheet: (1) all the students filling out the forms, and (2) those absent from the class. Enclose this list with the completed forms (and those not used) in the attached envelope.

D. Please circle the number beside the name of any boy or girl (whether present or absent) who, in your judgement, would have difficulty in filling out the form.

E. Seal the envelope and return it to the principal's office.

F. If anybody asks for an explanation of some question try to deal with it by suggesting that it be answered by checking "the answer that fits you best."

G. Some boys and girls will probably finish much sooner than others. Item 8 in the statement which you read to the class asks the students to study when they have finished the form. If this is not appropriate, please give them some other assignment which will keep them busy so as not to disturb those who are still writing.

BOX A

We are not going to have our regular class today. Instead, this class and other classes in our school and in many other high schools are taking part in a very important study. The purpose of the study is to learn more about how high school students feel about school and about their future education. This will be of great help to teachers and counselors in advising students.

All sophomores are going to fill out the forms which I'm now going to give you. In answering, remember these things:

1. This is not a test or exam. There is no right or wrong answer. The only answer to each question is the one that tells best how you think or feel.
2. You will have plenty of time to answer the questions. Read each one before answering. Don't skip over anything. Some questions may seem to be asking the same thing but they're really not, so be sure to answer all of them.
3. Don't stop too long on any question. Just give the answer that seems to fit you best and go on to the next question.
4. I will not see your answers and no one else in school will see them. When you finish, the forms will be put into this envelope which will be sealed immediately and sent to Stanford University.
5. Do not talk while others are still writing.
6. You can use either a pen or a pencil.
7. Most of the questions can be answered by making an X beside the answer that fits you best.
8. When you finish make sure you've answered the questions on all the pages. Then turn the form face down on your desk, open your book, and study for the rest of the period.
9. Be sure to print your name where it's asked for on the bottom of the front page. This part of the page will be cut off at the Stanford Research Office and your form will only have a number on it.

(If this study assignment is not appropriate please give some other assignment.)

BOX B

We are not going to have our regular class this hour. Instead we're going to answer the second and last part of the Stanford Study of High School Students. All of you or most of you have already filled out the first part so you know what to do. Let me just remind you again that:

1. This is not a test or exam. There is no right or wrong answer. The only answer to each question is the one that tells best how you think or feel.
2. You will have plenty of time to answer the questions. Read each one before answering. Don't skip over anything. Some questions may seem to be asking the same thing but they're really not, so be sure to answer all of them.
3. Don't stop too long on any question. Just give the answer that seems to fit you best and go on to the next question.
4. I will not see your answers and no one else in school will see them. When you finish, the forms will be put into this envelope which will be sealed immediately and sent to Stanford University.
5. Do not talk while others are still writing.
6. You can use either a pen or a pencil.
7. Most of the questions can be answered by making an X beside the answer that fits you best.
8. When you finish make sure you've answered the questions on all the pages. Then turn the form face down on your desk, open your book, and study for the rest of the period.
9. Be sure to print your name where it's asked for on the bottom of the front page. This part of the page will be cut off at the Stanford Research Office and your form will only have a number on it.

(If this study assignment is not appropriate please give some other assignment.)

School name: ____________________

Your name: ____________________

Class filled out: ______ Form A ______ Form B

Date: May ____________

Period: ____________

Remedial class: ______ Yes ______ No

Names of All Students Filling Out Forms (In Alphabetical Order)

Last Name First Name

1. ____________________
2. ____________________
3. ____________________
4. ____________________
5. ____________________
6. ____________________
7. ____________________
8. ____________________
9. ____________________
10. ____________________
11. ____________________
12. ____________________
13. ____________________
14. ____________________
15. ____________________
16. ____________________
17. ____________________

Names of Students Abesent From Class

1. ____________________

2. ____________________

3. ____________________

4. ____________________

5. ____________________

6. ____________________

7. ____________________

8. ____________________

9. ____________________

10. ____________________

11. ____________________

12. ____________________

13. ____________________

14. ____________________

15. ____________________